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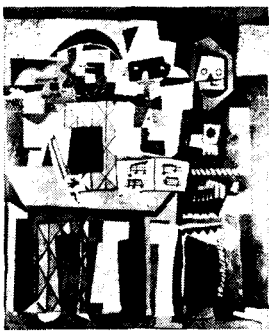

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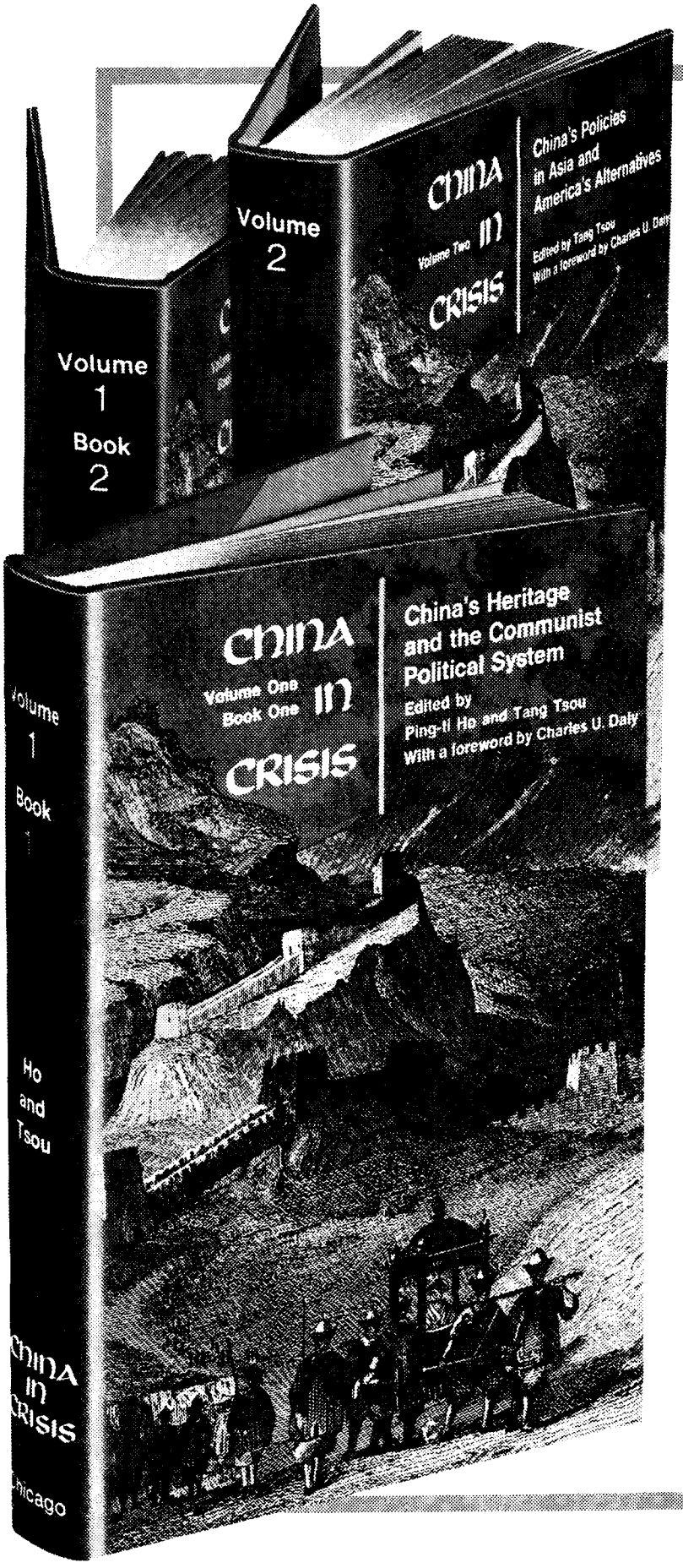
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Lost

★ We rather assume Nixon will win this election. Five polls came out last week all showing him way ahead. We guess Humphrey will narrow the lead from now on, but whether he can do a 1948-Truman act is doubtful. It has taken a good deal of the suspense out of the affair.

Maybe we are wrong, but we don't think who wins makes much difference on Vietnam. The war has been lost. We started the war essentially to show that a revolutionary national movement could be stopped by armor and like it or not, events prove that it can't. Americans now desperately want a face-saving formula to get out. The tug between saving face and saving lives has produced a galloping case of national schizophrenia; we have never seen America so tormented. The angry uncertainty becomes violence in many other fields.

Unless Mr. Johnson halts bombing in the meantime, we see the next President, whoever he is, soon becoming as unpopular as the war itself, or making peace. We think Nixon or Humphrey will move to make peace shortly after taking office. Very likely it will be done obliquely. It took de Gaulle three years to get out of Algeria. American patience won't last that long. And since America wants peace but dislikes defeat, the man who actually gets peace is apt to be denounced and reviled, unless he shows amazing footwork. We don't envy him.

We can set down the above thoughts with pert coolness, but actually we don't feel that way. We are terribly gloomy. Making America face up to the humiliation that probably lies ahead is a ghastly business. Maybe it can be camouflaged. No nation save the British has our capacity for righteous self-deception. We were trounced in the war of 1812 (even more unpopular than this one) but fixed our eyes resolutely on the victory at New Orleans, which had no military significance and was fought after the Treaty of Ghent. The treaty said nothing about impressment, which caused the war. So what? – we won a fine battle, didn't we?

Well, who has a New Orleans up his sleeve now? What we fear is a hate-filled, prolonged, post-Vietnam witch-hunt, pinning blame, finding traitors and raising every point but the right one about our embarrassment over the fact that, at first, virtually the whole nation went along in a mistaken policy, a land war in Asia.

Different Story

★ As we say, concerning Vietnam we haven't been able to see, so far, that it makes much difference who wins, Nixon or Humphrey. But on domestic matters it is a different story. The Republican Party has been strongly, actively, steadily opposing nearly every major piece of social-progress legislation of the past four years. Perhaps civil rights is an exception. If so, there are hardly any others.

Nixon's whole experience and bias is toward social conservatism, and he goes out of his way to emphasize it; he glories in it. Poverty, he feels instinctively, is the fault of the poor. Crime is the fault of the courts. On crime, he considers Humphrey "tragically naïve"; "I say that doubling the conviction rate in this country would do more to cure crime in America than quadrupling the funds for Mr. Humphrey's war on poverty," he declares glibly.

Nixon carries Edward Brooke on one shoulder, Strom Thurmond on the other. He's for school desegregation but not for the federal financial pressure necessary to enforce it. If elected, he will probably not get 10 percent of the Negro vote. It's a question whether he can govern a seething revolt under those circumstances.

If there's one thing that's certain in this country, present inequalities of income must somehow be moderated. That, or apartheid. It's not an agreeable thing to say, but our taxes, as a ratio of national income, are low compared to most other democracies. We do less for the poor; our inequalities are greater. This pretense that the ghetto problem and unemployment can be sublet to big corporations to solve in return for tax concessions is the Nixon approach; it won't work. We honor Humphrey for saying recently that whatever private business does for the city the government's role remains "crucial" and that any genuine drive to improve the situation "will cost money – a great deal of it." Of course it will. Like it or not, federal intervention, and taxes, are going to increase.

It may be argued that turning affairs over to Nixon and the Republicans (we guess he will have a Republican House; not the Senate) will do no great harm – look at Eisenhower. But the cases are not the same.

In 1952, when Ike took over, the country needed a rest, and he gave it. He boasted that he was not a politician and it was true; he thought that was an asset. He did not know that the crucial period for a President is the first two years when he has maximum prestige and a malleable Congress. Ike did not even have a program the first year, and lost his seed time. He did not set the clock back; he never knew the time. And after the first two years he had a Democratic Congress.

Things are different today. Nixon knows the score, he's an activist. The next two years may produce disaster even if liberal reforms are pushed; but, instead of that, we fear, Nixon will institute moves in the opposite direction. He will save money, cut taxes, try to decentralize, subcontract relief of poverty to General Motors. The country is in a conservative mood. With George Wallace looking over Nixon's shoulder (and setting his sights on 1972), God knows what Nixon will do.

Wallace is the dynamic force in this campaign. A man who received World War II service-connected compensation for psychoneurotic disability is rousing the frightened white lower middle class against the blacks. And he may put the election into the House yet.

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Signing the Treaty

In encouraging US senators, particularly the Republicans, to delay approval of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, as a gesture signifying disapproval of Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, Richard Nixon betrays his ignorance of the treaty's history and meaning, and of the kind of pressures that carry weight in the Kremlin. Consent should be withheld, he says, until "the posture and intentions" of the USSR can be "reassessed"; then, "at a later date," the Senate can decide "whether circumstances will then justify our proceeding with ratification."

Now, a rebuff to the Russians because of Czechoslovakia, while assuredly in order, is effective only if the rebuff concerns something which the Soviets regard as important. It is very doubtful that the nonproliferation treaty answers that description. For the treaty is an American project, drafted in Washington in response to popular fears of the arms race. It was pressed by a massive US diplomatic effort, first on members of the 18-nation disarmament conference in Geneva, then in the UN General Assembly. At this moment signatures to the treaty are being sought in capitals around the globe. About 80 nations have already signed, in many instances in response to ardent American urging.

The Russians do stand to gain something from the treaty, as does the US, and the Russians have co-sponsored its final drafts. But they have done so with a shrug of the shoulders. Treaties of this kind do not impress Kremlin realists. The advantages of going along were closely balanced by the disadvantage to the Russian leaders of cooperating with the United States on any project while the Vietnam war is in progress. For the Senate to hesitate now is to discredit US diplomats among their counterparts in foreign offices throughout the world, and on a matter where they deserve a vote of confidence, not repudiation. Delay likewise gives time and encouragement to the opponents of the treaty in such key countries as West Germany and India.

Having cleared the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week (13 to 3; Senators Frank Lausche, Thomas Dodd and Karl Mundt voting against, and Senators Bourke Hickenlooper, George Aiken and John J. Williams abstaining), the treaty must wait its turn for full Senate consideration. Justice Fortas' nomination will be disposed of first. This may mean postponement until after the elections, or even until 1969. While a delay of weeks or months would

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not necessarily be fatal – indeed, there might be merit in having a new Administration adopt the treaty as its own – the abandonment of the treaty would be a serious setback to any possible progress toward arms control. In addition, the diversion of substantial resources to new weapons programs by a half-dozen non-nuclear countries would not only increase military instability, but would retard economic advance in both developed and underdeveloped countries.

It is quite obvious that President Johnson's desire to have the treaty approved immediately, at what amounts to a special session of Congress, is inspired largely by an understandable yearning for a monument to himself in the remaining days of his Presidency. A trophy for his peace shelf would be especially treasured. Mr. Johnson's impatience comes with ill grace, however, when for more than two years progress on the treaty was delayed by his failure to authorize US negotiators to drop a demand that the nonproliferation treaty carry a special clause exempting a projected NATO Multilateral Force (MLF). US delegates repeatedly pleaded that they be permitted to give up the clause (the UN General Assembly called it a "loophole") and pointed out that the MLF proposal, having already been rejected by key NATO powers, was dead. But the President, on advice of his Secretary of State (disarmament advisers had no access to the White House) decided to "keep the options open," dead ones as well as live ones.

That a treaty designed to perpetuate a monopoly of the current nuclear powers should represent the high water mark of arms control endeavors in the Johnson Administration is itself a manifestation of the slackness of White House leadership. The personal, presidential involvement in arms limitation which began with John F. Kennedy's American University speech ended abruptly with Kennedy's death. In this area, any forward motion requires forceful initiative and persistence by the President, since almost invariably powerful bureaucracies, especially the military, must be overruled. The nonproliferation treaty became the lowest common denominator, tolerable to all sectors of the bureaucracy.

Originally, it was part of a larger package which ncluded a comprehensive test ban, a cutoff of the production of fissionable materials for weapons use and a freeze in the number and characteristics of strategic delivery vehicles. These more substantial proposals were laid aside, in favor of a limited treaty whose chief virtue lay in the fact that the Russian and American leaders were able to put it forward without offending their military establishments. For although the treaty inhibits the non-nuclear nations and subjects their industrial reactors to inspection to assure that fissionable material is not being diverted to military purposes, it permits the US, USSR, France, Britain and China to go right ahead building their arsenals and subjects them to no inspection at all. Negotiators understood all along that they were agreeing to something which would encounter the least possible resistance within their own governments. Indeed, the US and Russian observers at the conference of non-nuclear states in Geneva had a common message last week to smaller countries who have been asking the nuclear powers to accept restraints on themselves, thus balancing those which the treaty places on the have-nots: "Please don't rock the boat."

Vice President Humphrey has taken a sensible position in advising the senators not to look this gift horse in the mouth. If the treaty is worth ratifying later, it is worth ratifying now. On this issue, Mr. Humphrey has an exceptional chance to be for something that is good, and that happens also to be a pet project of Lyndon Johnson. The Vice President might push his advocacy further by offering to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It would then be Mr. Nixon's turn to appear and explain his reasons for delay. In that event the public would be treated to something thus far denied it – a significant debate between the candidates.

Fallout on the Census

In addition to its decennial head-count, the US Bureau of the Census sponsors periodic surveys on population characteristics, and occasionally joins forces in studies with other agencies. Recently the Bureau, acting as agent for the Department of Defense, initiated a survey on the amount of fallout protection in homes. In Massachusetts self-administered forms have been sent to all addresses, with two reminders thus far for laggards. All documents arrive in an envelope marked OFFICIAL U. S. GOVERNMENT SURVEY.

At first glance this seems harmless, except that the survey could blast the Census Bureau out of its traditional shelter of political neutrality. Previously the Bureau has avoided questions likely to touch off controversy. Its directors preferred to sacrifice the minor gains derived from such research to preserve public confidence in its main efforts, the Census and the Current Population Surveys. If the Bureau were to become, like the State Department, a focus of dissension, the excellent cooperation seen in the latter studies might well be jeopardized.

The Home Fallout Protection Survey represents a dangerous departure from this policy. Though dormant at present, the shelter issue has been the subject of bitter congressional debate in the past, and may become so again if deployment of the anti-ballistic

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missile system moves ahead. Yet in the cover letter, Bureau Director A. Ross Eckler cites approvingly the following statement from the President's 1965 message to Congress: "It is already clear that without fallout protection for our citizens, all defense weapons lose much of their effectiveness in saving lives." Of course, this is by no means clear, and the argument disregards the provocative effects of shelters as well as their uselessness in many types of attacks.

The ill-fated Project Camelot demonstrated how social research can be used to legitimize the self-interest of a federal agency, in that case the Army. The result was a major setback for overseas research by American scholars, and continued suspicion that the social sciences have "sold out" to the defense establishment. Thus far the Census Bureau has been above suspicion, but its image may change if it lends its weight to the dubious maneuvers of other agencies. Surveys like the shelter study may produce their own brand of fallout from the 1970 Census in the form of "no answers" and "not at homes."

We Want Wallace

Lexington, Ky.

There are plenty of "Wallace for President" bumper stickers on cars around the state. Many of them are on '59 Chevies or '61 Plymouths, but a good number are on Cadillacs and Oldsmobiles.

To counteract the grassroots support for Wallace, Republican Governor Louie Nunn used part of one of his recent press conferences to warn that a vote for George was actually a vote for Hubert. At the time it appeared that former Kentucky Governor A. B. (Happy) Chandler would be Wallace's running mate, and so the governor probably thought that he should get on the voters early.

That sort of thing is probably unnecessary in this state, however. A recent survey by the Louisville *Courier-Journal* revealed that there are many more people registered to vote than are actually eligible to be registered – a living tribute to the power and efficiency of both the Republican and Democratic county machines. With this kind of control of individual counties in the state's rural areas, Wallace's prospects are not as bright as the number of bumper stickers would indicate.

Perhaps seeking to rectify this, Wallace came to Lexington on September 14. Although he was actually appearing at a convocation at the University of Kentucky, the local Wallace organization passed out a lot of leaflets billing the speech as a political rally. The advance publicity man put out the story that this speech was to be one of the most important of the whole campaign. Local news people assumed that Wallace was going to announce his choice for Vice President.

However, Wallace said very little. His plane, delayed by fog in Charleston, W.Va., arrived an hour and a half behind schedule and he had to forego his usual pre-speech news conference. This may have thrown him off. He was certainly not in top form. He said very little about running over protesters or about pseudo-intellectuals' inability to park their own bicycles. He did fire off a few of the old blanks, such as jailing protesters who "fly the Viet Cong flag" and making sure that citizens have guns to protect themselves from criminal elements. Still, he seemed rather lackluster.

The reaction of University students may have been partly responsible. After discussing possible courses of action, a group of UK students agreed to stage a "Hippies for Wallace" demonstration. While fine-looking, clean-cut young men walked around handing out anti-Wallace leaflets, the long-haired, beaded, happy Hippies marched in an orderly fashion with signs that read "Turn on with Wallace" and "Wallace is the last hope of America's youth."

When Wallace arrived, they all went in and sat in a group in the top of the huge Memorial Coliseum. Every time Wallace would hit a point, they would

"I'd rather light matches than curse the darkness."

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stand up and cheer wildly for "law and order." At one point Wallace referred to them as the usual group of "rowdies" and they broke into a wild cheer: "We want Wallace."

"Hey," said the former Alabama Governor in a burst of recognition. "They're on our side."

DAVID HOLWERK

Playing the Market

Within the past few weeks, the Securities & Exchange Commission charged two prominent brokerage houses (Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, and First Hanover Corp.) with violating federal anti-brand regulations. Within the SEC building there are rumors of more such cases to come. Since 1961, under Chairmen William Cary and Manuel Cohen, the SEC has – among other things – brought about a major upheaval and transformation of the American Stock Exchange, forced the New York Exchange to stiffen many rules and to revamp (for the first time) its commission rate structure, caused corporate "insiders" to think twice about profiting from secrets, forced smaller corporations to reveal details on profits, sales and vital business decisions, and brought on more honesty in reporting many stock prices to newspapers – and, hence, the public.

The SEC also has turned up evidence to show that the New York Stock Exchange in many ways remains "an exclusive private club," run for the benefit of its members and not necessarily those 24 million Americans who own stock and (in the words of the Exchange's public relations men) who thus are "shareholders in American business." Recently, SEC hearings traced the maze through which brokerage commissions pass as the industry – sometimes in violation of Stock Exchange rules – divvies up the money pot on the theory of "scratch my back; I'll scratch yours."

The SEC's grand design is to "protect the investor." In theory, charges of malfeasance, investigations of fraud, market manipulation, hearings into excessive fees and charges should have left the "average investor" more cautious, less receptive to tips from barbers. Yet despite the SEC's periodic warnings against speculation (warnings in which the industry readily joins), those 24 million "shareholders in American business" keep stepping up their stock buying and selling and are joined by thousands more each week. Brokers are so swamped with business they shut down one day a week to catch up on paperwork. Critics charge that the SEC has been negligent in not trimming stock fever speculation in this country and that when the "bubble bursts" – whatever that means – millions of investors will be left holding nothing but paper certificates. Whatever the merit of such criticism, it is a fact that taking on the investment industry is – for any do-gooder, bureaucratic or private – a much easier job than trying to reform the investor.

A couple of examples will suffice. I knew an old lady whose husband died, leaving about $40,000 in life insurance. The lady decided to invest in the market, and she devised a system to make "Manny" Cohen and even most brokers shudder. She decided she would buy stocks "alphabetically." She started with "A" and bought Addressograph-Multigraph, not because she knew anything about its profit and sales records but because her son worked there. This was in the early 1950's, and lo! Addressograph got into automatic data processing, made a bundle of cash for itself and the old lady. Her "A" stock went from $40 to $100 a share. Then the lady bought "Brunswick" because it made bowling equipment and she bowled on the ladies team at church and pretty soon millions of Americans took up bowling and Brunswick stock went from $20 to $70. Next, the lady bought Chrysler against the advice of her son and her broker (Chrysler was in a deep sales slump). But the lady drove an old Plymouth, and it ran good, and golly! Within a year Chrysler had (as they say on Wall Street) "turned around" and the lady's stock was worth five times as much as she had paid for it. She received a Polaroid camera as a birthday present and bought Polaroid stock just before it "took off."

When it came to the bottom of the alphabet, there wasn't much choice – just Xerox in the "X's" and Zenith in the "Z's," and they were among the "hottest issues" of the last decade. The lady earned $60 a share on Zenith and $90 a share on Xerox. On the day she retired, this lady sold her $40,000 worth of stock investments and got almost $400,000 in a green check from her broker. Today, she lives in Palm Beach, Fla., and drives an air-conditioned Chrysler Imperial. Her $400,000 was salted away in tax free municipal bonds.

Or take the couple around the corner. The husband is a successful conservative who believes in law and order and holds stock in companies like Bethlehem Steel, du Pont, General Motors and New Jersey Standard. Fine companies all, and they pay dividends but price-wise the stocks are dogs. The wife is a mousy soul, but a couple of years ago her teen-age daughter and the girl's friends began raving about "Kentucky Fried Chicken." They bought it at a drive-in and reported it tasted "keen-o." The lady slipped down to her broker next day and bought 1,000 shares at about $6 a share, sold it not too long ago for $87 a share – or for a keen-o profit of $81,000.

Finally, another neighbor innocently overheard a conversation on his morning bus between two unknown fellow travelers. They were talking "the mar-

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ket" and one obviously was a broker and the second a lawyer. The lawyer, as virtually all "shareholders in American business" do when conversing with an investment man, asked "whattya like these days?" The broker replied he liked Dynaelectron. What's its business? asked the lawyer. Don't know, answered the broker, but with a name like that it can't miss. So the lawyer bought 300 shares at $4 a share and within six months Dynaelectron was the rage of the American Stock Exchange, selling at $30 a share and up. Last I heard the lawyer sold at "around $28," thus pocketing $7,200. His oldest kid went off to college last week driving a new Triumph.

ROBERT W. DIETSCH

MR. DIETSCH *is a reporter for Scripps-Howard.*

Control of Schools

"Decentralization" of urban programs is everybody's cliché. Liberals, conservatives, blacks, whites talk of giving power to the people where they are; of less governmental and more popular control over education, the war on poverty and housing. The current dispute within the New York City schools raises the lid on some of the problems that have to be solved if decentralization or its other manifestations – "maximum feasible participation of the poor," "participatory democracy" – are going to work.

The facts in the controversy are simple. Last fall, after considerable community agitation, the Ford Foundation financed educational decentralization experiments in three slum areas; locally elected boards and administrators were given large, if rather hazy, powers over the schools in areas of East Harlem, the Lower East Side, and Ocean Hill-Brownsville. Powers were not defined precisely, in part so that arguments could be settled behind the scenes. But the board in Ocean Hill-Brownsville publicly forced the issue of power into the open last spring when it dismissed 19 teachers and asked that they be transferred.

This fall, nine of the teachers left the district voluntarily, but 10 decided to stay and fight. The teachers were ordered to report back to their schools by both the Board of Education and an impartial examiner (who was black), and when they were not allowed back by the local board the United Federation of Teachers struck the schools. After two days the local board and its paid administrator, Rhody A. McCoy, agreed not to "resist" the return of the teachers. The local community, however, apparently with the tacit approval of Mr. McCoy and the board, blocked the entrances to several schools. The teachers were escorted inside by police but were not given teaching assignments. The union walked out again, this time demanding the virtual destruction of the whole decentralization experiment.

All sides deny that race is an issue. But it is. By giving (or promising) the local boards so much power so soon, the city administrators invited a direct clash between poor blacks and Puerto Ricans and the white establishment. Teachers, many of them Jewish, sounded like Chicago cops in denouncing the black community. A "black caucus" within the teachers' union opposed the strike. More than one black militant has been heard to make anti-Semitic, as well as anti-white remarks about the teachers. Any black who tries to walk the thin line between militancy and cooperation with the city risks being denounced as an Uncle Tom. Lloyd Sealy, the highest-ranking black in the police force, was derided as a "nigger" by local residents when he tried to restrain the crowd near one school. Rhody McCoy was shouted down when he announced the first settlement to a gathering of parents. Early in the year the local board, bent on proving its radical credentials, nominated for principal of one school a man who was under indictment for helping to plot the murder of major civil rights leaders.

One of the reasons why suburban school systems are often good is that parents demand it. One hopeful aspect of the New York controversy, therefore, is that poor and often uneducated parents are showing real concern about their children's education. But if the local board were to gain the kind of power over the schools it wants, its troubles would just begin. The children of Ocean Hill-Brownsville are getting a poor education not because their parents do not run the schools, but because the schools are not doing their job. The parents of Brownsville are no more able than the parents of Great Neck to create "good" schools on their own. That is the task of professional educators. Unfortunately, educators in New York City often have behaved like anything but professionals. Their record in teaching deprived black and Puerto Rican children has been abysmal. Moreover, the teach-

COMING: *What's really happening at the Paris peace talks—a report by George McT. Kahin*

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ers' union, while boasting of its "professionalism," acts more like the Teamsters in its periodic contract disputes. Fringe benefits, tenure rights, and similar issues all seem to take precedence over the quality of education to be provided.

The teachers have legitimate grievances. Moreover, many of them came from middle-class families and neighborhoods that feel most threatened by black militancy. Like many other civil servants suddenly confronted by strange and hostile communities, they are subject to very human anxieties that are not easily overcome.

Although the rhetoric of "decentralization" assumes that the people are going to agree on what they want, often they don't. In Brownsville, for example, a dissident faction led by Assemblyman Samuel D. Wright charges that the local school board was unfairly elected and illegally paid itself salaries. The internal conflicts are compounded when the local community is not racially homogeneous. The model cities program in Harlem-East Harlem was stalled for over a year by a dispute between black and Puerto Rican factions. In Brownsville, the poverty program got nowhere until the blacks finally forced out the Puerto Ricans. The amount of power and money available is so meager that poor communities, starved for both, fight bitterly over the scraps. Political rivalries and ambitions only complicate the search for a consensus. (This turbulent atmosphere makes it particularly difficult to attract private investment in housing or businesses to ghetto areas.)

Schools cannot be run by "participatory democracy" alone. Bureaucracy, alas, is essential, if for no other reason than that communities disagree on what they want, and because many of the problems are technical, not political. This is hard to admit, since bureaucrats have replaced capitalists as the villain of the neo-Marxists – and of George Wallace ("Federal bureaucrats" who enforce the desegregation guidelines in southern schools). The question is not bureaucrats or no bureaucrats, however, but *which* bureaucrats, responsive to whom, and enforcing *what* rules.

Certainly some decentralization is needed. Central bureaucracies, especially in huge cities like New York, are unwieldy and too insensitive to community feelings. Blacks are not any longer going to be treated like colonial subjects. There's room for a great deal of experimentation in working out power relationships between parents, teachers and the government –especially in New York, where, as McGeorge Bundy of the Ford Foundation has said, the schools could hardly get worse.

STEVEN V. ROBERTS

STEVEN V. ROBERTS *is a reporter for* The New York Times.

Will Good Candidates Survive Bad Times?

To a large number of numbed Democrats, the sole question that remains, in mid-September, is what can be salvaged on November 5. In the aftermath of Chicago, the predictable has happened. Vice President Humphrey is discovering that his nominators lost their constituency long ago. As a result, his campaign is in shambles. This isn't true in the congressional races, where there is still hope. Thus, we are forced to direct our attention to the 91st Congress, which meets in January to wrestle with a host of trying problems that are being put aside by the three presidential contenders in favor of political euphemisms such as "law and order."

What can be done? Every campaign needs two things – money and manpower. Realizing this, the thousands who enlisted in the fight for a new politics, from Senator McCarthy through the droves of undergraduates who canvassed in the primaries, are looking about for a place to put their dollars and their energy. Many candidates are deserving. In fact, a group of 25 to 30 members of Senator McCarthy's campaign staff which met at Martha's Vineyard the weekend of Sept. 14-15 made up a list of 81 candidates they deemed worthy of support.

Senator McCarthy proposes to answer the question of what can be done in two ways – by campaigning for selected candidates and by helping raise funds for some of them. His itinerary for October is still being made up from the dozens and dozens of requests pouring into his office. But he has already acted to help selected candidates financially.

The National Committee for a More Effective Congress (NCEC) has agreed to set up a special account to expedite this fund-raising effort, and Senator McCarthy has prepared a letter which will be mailed to all contributors to his own presidential campaign, asking them to lend a hand to eight senatorial candidates who, in his judgment, have answered the challenges of 1968 in an unequivocal way. The chosen eight, all Democrats, are Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon, J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, George McGovern of South Dakota and Frank Church of Idaho, Gov. Harold Hughes of Iowa, ex-Rep. John J. Gilligan of Ohio, Alan Cranston of California and Paul O'Dwyer of New York.

His campaign staffers have more energy than money to offer. At the Martha's Vineyard meeting, the 81 candidates worthy of support were narrowed to eight priority candidates, including five of the senatorial

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nominees on Senator McCarthy's list (Hughes, Morse, McGovern, O'Dwyer and Gilligan) and three incumbent House members who backed Senator McCarthy – Reps. Don Edwards and George Brown of California, the first two members of Congress to endorse McCarthy; and Rep. Charles Vanik of Ohio, who withstood the tremendous pressure exerted by organized labor in the closing days before the convention.

But, for those who have enlisted in the effort to cleanse the political process, the effort cannot stop with the McCarthy endorsement nor the priority list of a group of key staff members.

In 1968, the right-wing elements in this country which were shattered four years ago are making a strong, renewed bid for power. The Far West is a major battleground, particularly the senatorial contests in California and Idaho. The latest poll (the Don Muchmore poll) in California shows Cranston holding a commanding lead over Dr. Max Rafferty, the articulate, demagogic right-winger who defeated Sen. Tom Kuchel in the GOP primary in June. Muchmore's poll finds Cranston leading 49 to 30, with Paul Jacobs of the Peace & Freedom Party polling two percent. (The same poll shows Richard Nixon holding a wide lead over Vice President Humphrey.) Encouraging as this is, it must be judged in the light of Dr. Rafferty's past performances. He closed a wide gap between himself and Senator Kuchel in the last five weeks. And the Cranston campaign is badly in need of money to keep its momentum. With proper financing, the seat can be won by Cranston, who supported the minority plank on Vietnam in Chicago.

In Idaho, Rep. George Hansen, the young GOP candidate, has the backing of a wide range of extremists, including many avowed John Birchers active in the Republican Party and George Wallace's American Independent Party (AIP). In fact, AIP declined to nominate a candidate against Representative Hansen, although they did enter a man in one of the congressional races. Senator Church, the incumbent, took an early stand against our Vietnam policies and is now in a close race for reelection.

Contributions may be mailed to: Californians for Cranston, 3259 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif., 90003; and, in the case of Senator Church, to Carl Burke, Trustee, Box 196, Boise, Idaho.

The campaign of Senator Morse also deserves special attention. Many remember that on August 7, 1964, he was one of two senators (Ernest Gruening of Alaska was the other) to protest US involvement in Vietnam by voting against the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. This year, he has a special problem, inasmuch as he was forced to exhaust his campaign funds during a hard-fought spring primary, when he was opposed by ex-Rep. Robert Duncan, a supporter of the Administration's Vietnam policies. Contributions may be sent to: The 1968 Re-Elect Wayne Morse Committee, 936 SW Washington St., Portland, Ore., 97205.

At the same time, those who have aligned themselves with the new politics cannot afford to ignore the games being played this season by the old-guard leadership of the AFL-CIO. For years, the AFL-CIO has played money politics in Washington, and played it effectively. This year, its leadership has added a new dimension by threatening to withhold funds from those who have refused to bow to their demands. Two victims of this are Gilligan and O'Dwyer.

Some days after the Chicago convention, Gilligan said his support of the minority plank had already cost him $200,000 in campaign funds promised by the labor leadership. He still may get some, but it may not be adequate. O'Dwyer, one of the folk heroes of the new politics, is being cut off completely. The AFL-CIO has endorsed his opponent, Jacob Javits. O'Dwyer's election would tell the old-style politicians that a new day is upon us.

Contributions can be sent to: Gilligan for Senator, Suite 1100, 50 W. Broad St., Columbus, Ohio, 43215; and O'Dwyer for Senator, Hotel Commodore, E. 42nd and Lexington Ave., N.Y., N.Y., 10017.

Not all the action is in the Democratic Party. During the weeks prior to the GOP convention in Miami Beach, thousands of Republicans worked within their party to promote the candidacy of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. One who gave his support to this effort was Rep. Charles Mathias (R, Md.), who is a candidate for US senator this year, a strong supporter of home rule for the District of Columbia and no enthusiast of LBJ's war. He is running against Sen. Daniel Brewster, a product of the Democratic machine politics of his state and a man who has faltered at every turn on issues. Contributions may be sent to: Mathias for Senator Committee, c/o Willard G. Rouse, Treasurer, Columbia, Md., 21043.

Nor can new faces brought to prominence during the last year be ignored in the final weeks of the 1968 campaign. Two, in particular, come to mind – Allard K. Lowenstein and David Hoeh.

Lowenstein won the Democratic nomination for Congress in New York's 5th district (Nassau County) in June and now faces Mason Hampton, a registered member of the Conservative Party who won the GOP nomination in a basically Republican district (at least by registration) and is now uttering right-wing sounds.

Hoeh, who came to national attention as the chairman of Senator McCarthy's New Hampshire primary campaign, figured in one of the incidents with the security guards at the national convention. A supporter, commenting on this, acknowledged it hurt with

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some conservatives but noted that it "costs you $20,000 to get known in the district and he got known in 15 minutes." Hoeh is running against an undistinguished Republican, Rep. James Cleveland.

Both need money. Contributions can be mailed to: Lowenstein for Congress, 189 Sunrise Highway, Rockville Centre, N. Y., 11570; and Hoeh for Congress, c/o David Hoeh, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.

In the South, there has been a lot of talk about a new politics this year, particularly in the black community. But black voters have been allowed at the polls only in the last few years; old-line politicians still pay them no attention. A lot of time and money is needed to register and organize the black vote, just as millions have been spent registering, organizing and campaigning for the white vote everywhere since the beginnings of the Republic. If a progressive political force is to arise in the South, it will need heavy financial support from outside. A good place to start is with the campaign of the Rev. William McKinley Branch for Congress in Alabama's 5th district. The seat is now held by Rep. Armistead I. Selden Jr., who stepped aside to make an unsuccessful bid for the US Senate in the Democratic primary. Branch, who is black and has qualified as the candidate of the National Democratic Party (NDP) faces five white opponents – a pro-Wallace "regular" Democrat, a Republican, and three independents. Intensive registration drives are underway in at least three of the district's five "black belt" counties and Branch has strong support from the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa, which is also in the district. Contributions can be mailed to: Branch for Congress, 2119 Broad St., Tuscaloosa, Ala., 35401.

There are other "doves" seeking reelection to the Senate, including Joseph Clark in Pennsylvania and Gaylord Nelson in Wisconsin. A large number of able members are seeking another term in the House. Many, like Phil Burton in California, John Conyers in Michigan, Edith Green in Oregon, William Fitts Ryan in New York and Henry Reuss in Wisconsin, are well entrenched in their districts. Others, such as John Dow in New York, Andy Jacobs in Indiana, and George Brown in California, are in tough fights.

There are some attractive new faces. Edward Koch in New York's 17th district has been good on the issues. In the West, Velma Linford is waging a strong campaign in Wyoming. Her political courage can be measured by the fact she ran for state superintendent in her state in the Fifties and won overwhelmingly by campaigning for federal-aid-to-education when support was regarded as sudden political death. Since then, she has compiled an outstanding record with VISTA. (Mailing address: 4004 Dillon, Cheyenne, Wyoming.)

PAUL WIECK

Nixon Out West

The Cool Confidence Of a Winner

Los Angeles

The people who turn out for Richard M. Nixon, along a campaign trail that looks more and more like his road to the Presidency, just love to hear him tell them who they are and who they are not. They are not, he tells them, "the people that have been rioting and burning and breaking the law." They are not, though he never quite says as much, the black and the poor and the rebellious young. "You are the forgotten Americans," he tells them. "You are the people who have been paying your taxes and raising your children and sending them to school, supporting your churches. You are good Americans, you care about your fellow Americans." Then always comes the saving line, the kind of line that the Richard Nixon of 1968 is very good at, the line that says his heart is also with all of those Americans who are not visibly with him in the crowds at his rallies and in the studio audiences at his bought telecasts. "You want the best for your own family," he tells his good and decent Americans, "but you know that this great country of ours cannot be a good place for any of us to live in unless it is a good place for *all* of us to live in."

The reporters who travel with Mr. Nixon worry more than he seems to about those absent Americans, or rather about what Nixon does or does not propose to do to win their confidence and votes. Some of his advisers say that he intends, in due course and after thorough preparation of the way by black emissaries, to "go into the ghettos" and otherwise renew, in person, the gestures toward black America which he began last spring with his advocacy of "black capitalism." In the meantime, at a distance perhaps more imposed upon him than sought by him, he continues to speak of "helping the Negro do things for himself so that he can stand with pride with others, as part of the mainstream of America"; of providing, mainly through private endeavors supported with a necessary minimum of public money, "that extra opportunity, that extra chance, for the Negro to become an owner and a manager and not just a worker in American private enterprise." When it occurs to him, and it seldom has on this trip through the capitals of the West, he throws in a mention of the Mexican-Americans who abound hereabouts and who, like the Negroes, display no evident interest or faith in Richard Nixon. His concern for them may be as sincere as he says it

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is, but so far it has not appeared to be the concern of a candidate who seriously hopes to get and is counting upon their votes. They are invariably "they" in his references to them, never "you," for the excellent reason that they have not been present with the citizens to whom he says, "I will tell you who you are," and about whom he says, "these are the Americans that I have been speaking to."

On rare occasions, typically one press conference every eight or ten days when he exposes himself to questioning by reporters, the suspicion is thrust at him that he speaks in code to some of his preferred Americans with his sustained emphasis upon "law and order." His answer is the flat statement that "Law and order is *not* racism," and his bristly manner, when he says it, implies, "Believe it or not; take it or leave it." At the urging of Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, among others, Mr. Nixon is at pains to talk now and then of "law and order with justice," and he invariably acknowledges that in order to have order with peace, "we must restore hope in millions of homes where there is no light or hope today." But he gets his biggest cheers from his white audiences, and discernible pleasure from the cheers, when he omits "justice" and concludes his standard expressions of devotion to civil rights with one of his favorite declarations, to the effect that "the first civil right of every American is to be free from domestic violence, and we are going to have an Administration that restores that right in the United States of America."

A corollary suspicion, of course, is that Richard Nixon is playing, not so much to the lower South as to the country at large, for the votes that surely will go to George C. Wallace of Alabama if they are not cast for Nixon. That in itself would not be an ignoble labor, considering the disaster for the country if Wallace runs a really formidable third in November or even, as some members of the Nixon staff now think he may do, ahead of Vice President Humphrey. But Mr. Nixon cannot say this, or anyhow does not choose to say it. Asked on a statewide telecast here this week what he is doing to "block off" Wallace, he said in lofty effect that he is doing nothing at all to that end. "I do not believe," he said, "that any good purpose is going to be served by dignifying the Wallace candidacy or any other third party candidacy." He insists that his is or ought to be "a national campaign" strictly between himself and Hubert Humphrey, of whom he speaks with condescending respect when he is admonishing the Vice President to meet him on the high, or Nixon, ground.

Not that the Nixon ground is always all that high, especially when "Hubert . . . the other fellow" is in discussion. It is only when the poised and assured and restrained Richard Nixon of 1968 – the very embodiment of a man who has recently succeeded beyond his wont and believes himself to be all but certain of ultimate success – gets on the subject of his principal opponent that some reminder of the earlier Nixon emerges. That vestigial Nixon speaks of the Vice President in a way that he never speaks of Lyndon Johnson, toward whom he implies a certain gratitude, just short of overt admiration. He said this week that the President keeps him informed of the latest developments in Vietnam and in the Paris negotiations, kindly adding that he "understands that Mr. Johnson similarly favors his Vice President." When Mr. Nixon is asked to come forth with a positive opinion about the conduct of the Chicago police during the Democratic Convention, he manages to introduce a reference to the huge and peaceful crowds that greeted him there a week after "the other fellow" had departed with his tarnished nomination. A sign that Nixon says he spotted when he was in Indianapolis – "Trade Hubert for the *Pueblo*" – is good for at least one dig at every rally and in every telecast, with the added barb that "I don't believe North Korea would take him." It is the sort of remark, Nixon said in Los Angeles, that keeps him in top-hole health and spirits despite the rigors of the campaign.

Mr. Nixon and his staff would say, and I suspect that most of the correspondents traveling with him would agree, that this report has failed to give fair account of the dominant note of the Nixon campaign. It is a note of all but accomplished triumph at the November polls; a cool efficiency, the kind that is possible only to a candidate who commands the assistance and support of thoroughly competent aides and unlimited campaign cash. The candidate is taxed with equivocating and he does equivocate – on issues ranging from the Fortas nomination (leave it to the Senate's judgment) to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty (he is for it, but not right now) and to the use of federal power and money to integrate Southern schools (discourage segregation, but do not enforce "positive" integration). But he equivocates with consummate skill, and to the evident satisfaction of the good and decent Americans, the Nixon Americans to whom he looks for victory on November 5. His skill on the hustings and their show of satisfaction make it believable, as to me it was unbelievable before I joined his press party, that Richard Milhaus Nixon will indeed be the next President of the United States.

And the prospective next Vice President? Governor Spiro Agnew is mentioned by Mr. Nixon and in this vicinity only when some outsider, usually a reporter, brings him and his performance up. Mr. Nixon would rather talk about Hubert. JOHN OSBORNE

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What's To Be Done? A Fourth Party?

The New Party grows out of widespread discontent with the Democratic and Republican Parties. One should not be surprised. Cities decay through immobility, dreadful urban renewal and highway programs. A huge military establishment is sustained and encouraged which is transforming our country into a national security state, where basic decisions of such militarized institutions as the CIA, DOD, NSA, FBI, etc., for all practical purposes, stand outside the control or scrutiny of the American people.

No domestic housing program has been effected which would come even close to filling our needs. There is no domestic full employment program, no guaranteed income or wage, no national health program; natural resources and conservation programs are weak. With no regulation of corporate power, the American megacorporation dictates the economy.

A regressive tax structure bleeds the working and middle class to pay for war and the national security state, and keeps millions of workers tied to the assumptions of the national security state so that they can keep their jobs. The oil depletion allowance in which the largest oil corporations pay less than five percent tax a year is perpetuated.

The militarization and coalition of the police and the Army in the cities has begun, which is invariably a step toward authoritarian control. (The National Guard and the Army have been used over 100 times since the Second World War to put down "civil disorders" in American cities.)

The reckless and morally indefensible war in Vietnam is being sustained by the two parties. In that war there are now over 130 thousand American casualties, 3½ million refugees from American military tactics and close to one million dead Vietnamese.

The arms race continues, using 10½ percent of the Gross National Product while guaranteeing growing insecurity and imbalance.

Bureaucracy dominates all levels of social services, in the schools, hospitals, and welfare system.

The result is that the following questions are being asked:

Men on the line in the factories are ready to ask why their wages have stayed the same over the last three years while their taxes have gone up to pay for wars and other adventures of the military over which they have no control. They wonder why they cannot have a greater voice in deciding their work situation.

Young people question the legitimacy of schools and universities which are meant as instruments to keep them busy but not to help them learn and develop. They wonder why they have no voice in the operation of the institutions in which they live; why a handful of people in Washington can commit the lives of millions in games of nuclear war or hundreds of thousands in colonial wars like Vietnam.

Black people wonder why they cannot control their political destiny, why they have to live in slums, why programs passed to benefit the poor and the black end up paying the salaries of bureaucrats, why a Southern senator who owns a plantation gets $100,000 a year from the federal government, whereas people who work for him cannot get $20 a month.

Black people, the poor, and the students wonder about the cries of law and order when they see civil rights laws go unenforced, taxes unpaid by the rich, and wars fought on the initiative of a few men who view themselves as unaccountable to constitutional and legitimate authority.

Middle-class people wonder why their streets are filthy, why they are not safe, why the air is polluted, why their cars don't work, why highways are more important than people, why they do not have adequate health services and a good education for their children, even though they pay the government so much of what they earn. They wonder what happened to the $1,300 billion that has been spent on defense and war-making since 1945, why $100 billion was spent to prop up foreign dictatorships that had no base in the people; when there will be a government that will stop the arms race which the US has been running with itself for 15 years.

Farmers wonder why the plantation owners and the corporate farmers control agriculture in this country, why their products don't receive a fair price when the consumer pays high prices, why the market system lets millions of people starve when their crops are destroyed to keep up an artificial price.

Our best young people, those who have worked as Peace Corpsmen or in the student and civil rights movement wonder why America is the most heavily committed nation in the world and yet the one most isolated from the decent opinion of mankind.

There are liberals within the Democratic Party who argue that a New Party is a mistake because the Democratic Party can be reformed within a short period of time. This position is historically similar to that of liberals in Congress who thought they would "take over" the Democratic Party in Congress through the Democratic Study Group. While the Democratic Study Group had some vitality during the Eisenhower Administration, when it was formed by Lee Metcalf and Eugene McCarthy, its major role has been as an additional whip system for the House Leadership, President Kennedy and President Johnson. In other words,

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it has been co-opted. In this sense, the Hubert Humphrey of 1948 has won the liberal battle within the Democratic Party. One of the great dilemmas of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party is that, while it attempted to bring social services to a starved public sector, but failed, it was successful in nourishing a new bureaucratic and military class in America. In this sense, the liberal Hubert Humphrey speaks for the Democratic Party in ways similar to the right wing Social Democrats in Germany who espoused piddling social services through authoritarian bureaucracy while accepting the power and legitimacy of the military-corporate elites. The result was disastrous for the Weimar Republic. This situation is not only reflected symbolically in Hubert Humphrey's life, and in the Presidency of Lyndon Johnson; it was also true of the Presidency of John F. Kennedy, who increased the military budget by 70 percent while taking "pride in the fact that we have reduced the ratio of federal civilian expenditures to national output."

The Democratic Party ideology of a strong executive to contain great corporations and other national power institutions of American life since 1938, reduced itself in practice to building a huge war machine and warmaking class. There is a political irony here. It is that the Democratic Party, to obtain power, had to support the national corporations which were built by the national security system – as, for example, in the plane and missile industry. In economics, the ideology of the Democratic Party has been a form of pathological Keynesianism in which many liberals believed that a dollar spent on the military was no different than a dollar spent on social services. The result has been that, while the Democratic Party continued to win office, it transformed the society into an authoritarian one which stood on the legs of the labor bosses, the large corporations, the military and the city bosses. The political parties are loose coalitions to obtain the votes of people at election time, but the groups that have the power all year round are the people at the top – the union leaders, corporate presidents, generals, national security bureaucracy, corporate farmers and Bourbon congressional chairmen. Contrary to the easy assumptions that have been made by some people who worked for McCarthy, to change the Democratic Party it would be necessary for the liberal Democrats to organize in the factories *against* the labor bosses, to organize a national challenge *within* the Democratic Party to the Daley machine and his power. It would be necessary to organize a national challenge to the seniority system in Congress as well as a national challenge to a hundred senior members of the most powerful committees. In other words, to change the Democratic Party from within by "capturing" it would require a purge of the entire congressional leadership in Congress – an event unknown in the history of American politics.

The more likely result of attempts at take-over in the next several years is quite different: the Right will be strengthened, some liberal Democrats will be defeated for Congress, the Congressional Party – which controls legislation and accepts the national security state – will go ahead undisturbed by liberal threats of take-overs. In the real world, more people will feel themselves unrepresented through the political parties. In the off chance that Humphrey wins, and McCarthy supporters sulk without supporting Humphrey, one can make a reasonable guess that the would-be "capturers" will be out of a party anyway. If Humphrey does not win, the regulars of the Democratic Party won't blame Humphrey for the defeat as much as they will blame those people who sat on their hands in 1968. Note what happened to Rockefeller in 1968 in the Republican Party. It seems to me that this argument remains an effective one so long as the liberals view themselves as Democrats. The political space *within* the Democratic Party turns out to be narrow.

On the other hand, there are independents who see no magic in either party. They are, however, persuaded by the lesser of two evils theory. In 1964, while Johnson teetered between choosing Dodd, Humphrey or McCarthy as his Vice-President, many younger people worked for the right of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to enter the Democratic Party. We were told then by the supporters of Humphrey to stop working for the MFDP, to stop rocking the boat, to accept the so-called "back of the bus" compromise offered to the MFDP, because if we didn't, Humphrey would not be given the nomination by Johnson. Many people stopped working for the MFDP at that point since they believed that it was more important for Humphrey to have the Vice-Presidency than for the Democratic Party to have changed its fundamental position on racism. That decision was a personal mistake for many people, including Humphrey. In 1966, independents and Democrats in Maryland supported Spiro Agnew for the governorship because his opponent appeared to be a dangerous racist. How many who supported Agnew as the lesser of the two "evils" would today recommend that course? In 1964, it appeared that Johnson was the lesser of the two evils as against Goldwater. Yet it was Johnson who carried out Goldwater's policies with the tacit and explicit support of the liberals in Congress until it was too late to do anything about it. At one point people have to understand that the lesser of two evils argument becomes an evil itself and a screen to stop people from building what they want.

Some in the middle class (usually those with a poli-

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tical science and journalistic background) have argued that the two-party system is necessary for "stability." Of course, as I have intimated there are now three parties in the United States. The Republican and Democratic Parties are the center-right, with the Wallace American Independent Party making up the "populist" right. The problem is that until this election, the rightist party maintained itself only in the Congress; although now it may formalize itself nationally and publicly through the George Wallace presidential campaign. While Wallace is trading on a populist base and the fact that the labor leadership has forgotten how to talk to the working class – and the lower middle class is not told by either party that its earnings are not going to support black people but rather the national security state – relationships could grow between the Congressional Conservative Party and the Wallace movement.

But what about the third of the voting nation which feels different about politics than the center and authoritarian right, center and left? Are they supposed to rest assured because some people foolishly believe that there is a two-party system and it is to be protected? The answer is no. The largest single group of voting age people do not view themselves either as Democrats or Republicans. They want a place to go and a place should be provided. In passing, it should be noted that a multiparty system by itself does not tell us whether the nation is free or just. As Robert Dahl has pointed out, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland and the Netherlands have a multiparty system and those nations have not been faulted on the grounds that they seek justice less or govern themselves worse than the supposedly hallowed two-party system, which does not exist in the United States anyway. Perhaps we can formulate a general rule for the social scientist. Where the policies which result from the political parties and the bureaucracies cause basic structural and institutional deficiencies, and the policies cannot be changed through the given party structure because the parties created the institutions and their deficiencies, then a new party must emerge to make a structural analysis which shows the new politics and policies that are necessary and the structural changes which are required. Unless such a new political party comes into being, the revolutionary repressive situation will grow, and the final result will be the strengthening of the authoritarian aspects of the state – whether through revolution or repression.

Thus, the New Party is a political effort to avoid violence in the United States by offering reconstructive alternatives to those people who are now disfranchised, either because they know that their votes don't count for anything when they do vote, or are alienated from the political process to the extent that they now do not participate. Unless the political process opens up to take account of new forces which will not accept either the old molds, or the national security state, we will find that mass violence by the internal police and the disaffected from *all* classes of society will become the basic way which people will choose to defend their interests.

In the last several months, people in the New Party, from the ghetto, church groups, independent Republicans, and the university professor-student class have been able to build organizations in 39 states. The New Party will be on the presidential ballot this November in some 18 states and will have helped four states build an independent elector slate. In other states the New Party will test the constitutionality of election laws which have as their sole purpose the perpetuation of the two-party system. We have attempted to organize around the energy created by the movement for Senator McCarthy. Since he has withdrawn from the presidential race, it is necessary for the movement to build from the bottom.

To this end, the New Party will begin social action projects – legal services, health care services, special schools for young people – controlled by the local communities and helped by the New Party. It will help people to see that the electoral and democratizing process is one which should go on in universities, labor unions, corporations, hospitals, and every place where people live and work. It will be a party which will seek a way for the rich and the poor to work together as equals in common projects for the public good. It will be a party which will stand for equality among black and white, building a party in the ghetto and the suburb around community, self-determination and mutual aid. In national security issues it will stand for the dismantling of an obsolete, dangerous military establishment which is overextended and overreaching. It will insist that there be an arms control and disarmament law in the United States applicable to citizens and police as well. It will insist that American interests and human interests are not served by fighting colonial wars or building empires, either by accident or design. It will insist that revolution, in other nations or insurgencies therein should not cause interventions and suppressions by the American military. It will stand for an attempt to give back to the world so much of what the world has given the United States.

MARCUS RASKIN

MR. RASKIN *is co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies. From 1961 to 1962 he was on the Special Staff of the National Security Council as disarmament advisor at the White House. This is the first of a series on the political dilemma of '68.*

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The Broad-Spectrum Conspiracy

by Morton Mintz

Last December 29 in Federal Court in New York City, a jury convicted three leading drug manufacturers on all three counts in a criminal antitrust indictment involving tetracycline and two chemically related "wonder" antibiotics, each of which is effective against a broad spectrum of infectious diseases. The first count accused the manufacturers – Chas. Pfizer & Co., Inc., American Cyanamid Co. and Bristol-Myers Co., Inc. – of conspiring to fix prices in the $100 million-a-year domestic market. The second count accused the firms of conspiring to monopolize the American market, and the third of actually achieving a monopoly. The indictment named as co-conspirators – although not as co-defendants – the Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp. (E.R. Squibb & Sons) and the Upjohn Co. Each of the convicted firms has been fined $50,000 per count, the maximum penalty allowed in the law (former Justice Department antitrust chief Donald F. Turner thought that a reasonable maximum would be $1 million per count). The fines not only were minor in amount, but were inconsequential for the companies alongside at least five considerations of a much more troubling nature:

1. The seven-week trial came at a most inopportune time for the drug industry – a time when the Johnson Administration and key legislators, especially Senators Russell B. Long (D, La.) and Gaylord Nelson (D, Wis.), were heating up campaigns for lower-cost generic prescribing in Government programs. The trial provided damaging disclosures. For example, prosecutor Harry G. Sklarsky put into the record data from the confidential files of American Cyanamid (Lederle Laboratories) showing that its cost of production for 100 capsules of tetracycline in the 250-milligram dose was as low as $1.52. In the eight years (1953-61) covered by the indictment, however, the price to the pharmacist charged by all five firms was $30.60.

2. Although the three convicted firms are appealing, experienced legal observers rate their chances as poor, especially because of the meticulous skill and extreme judicial fairness with which the Judge, Marvin E. Frankel, conducted the long pre-trial proceedings and the trial itself.

3. If affirmed, the convictions are available as *prima facie* evidence in civil antitrust cases – a powerful weapon for litigants seeking triple damages from the five defendant and co-conspirator firms. These litigants claim to have been victimized by rigged prices for tetracycline and for its two chemical relatives, oxytetracycline (Pfizer's Terramycin) and chlortetracycline (Cyanamid's Aureomycin). Principally, the litigants are the states and their political subdivisions. To date, about 30 have filed suits; but if all eligible to do so file, the estimated total sought in treble damages will be a staggering $500 million. This sum is substantially more than was sought in the treble-damage suits filed a few years ago against the General Electric Co., Westinghouse Electric Corp., and numerous other companies convicted of a criminal price-fixing conspiracy in electrical equipment.

4. The electrical equipment cases raised a crucial question – whether a company convicted of an antitrust violation should be allowed to deduct the sums paid out in settlement of civil triple-damage actions as "ordinary and necessary business expense." In a ruling that reversed its previous position and rejected a recommendation of its staff, the Internal Revenue Service decided in the summer of 1964 that such settlements indeed should be deductible. The ruling was denounced in a joint statement by the chairmen of the congressional antitrust subcommittees, Sen. Philip A. Hart (D, Mich.) and Emanuel Celler (D, N.Y.), for its "passive assumption that a hard-core criminal price-fixing conspiracy is 'ordinary and necessary business'." They said the ruling was "flatly contrary to existing law" and a huge "tax giveaway." Pending today in Senator Russell Long's Senate Finance Committee are bills to reverse the IRS ruling, one by Hart and one by Long himself. This might well fill the antibiotics firms with foreboding, because Long is one of the bitterest critics of the drug industry on Capitol Hill, and because, as an aide put it, he considers the IRS measure "a labor of love."

5. Even apart from its publicly acknowledged "active consideration" of a possible damage suit involving Federal purchases of antibiotics, the Justice Department could take additional civil or criminal action. This possibility was pointed up recently when *The Washington Post* disclosed the existence of documents in which officials of the firms in the New York case referred repeatedly to specific agreements to fix the prices of tetracycline in Latin America. How critical

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such documents could be is suggested by the fact that Pfizer, Cyanamid and Bristol were convicted even though the Department was unable to produce a single piece of paper mentioning any agreement to fix prices or monopolize; the Government made its case from acts which when taken alone may be innocent, but when taken together establish a conspiracy.

The documents were filed in Federal Court in Manhattan by the City of New York, one of the jurisdictions suing the five antibiotics firms for treble damages. In an affidavit, David I. Shapiro of Dickstein, Shapiro, Dennis & Galligan, counsel to the City, said the papers show "the existence of a conspiracy to fix the price of broad spectrum antibiotics throughout the Western Hemisphere" – a conspiracy which "embraced within it the very same price-fixing conspiracy in the United States."

One of the papers is a letter of June 3, 1960, in which M. Rubio Maestre of Bristol-Venezuela told Bristol Laboratories International Corp. of "the meeting day before yesterday between all of the American laboratories and Hoechst (a German drug firm), the sellers of tetracycline, in order to fix prices to hospitals and government agencies. . . ." An "initial agreement" was in fact reached; a copy is attached to the Shapiro affidavit. In 1957 in Panama, all seven suppliers of tetracycline bid an identical $22.54 on 100-capsule bottles to the equivalent of the Social Security Administration in the United States. "The Seguro Social was very surprised at the uniformity," Lewis R. Long, an aide to E. H. Coleman, executive vice president of Upjohn's International Division, wrote his boss on April 29, 1957. "We only mention this because we can see a double-edged sword in having all of the competition quote the same price." But the contract went to Cyanamid after it bid 34 cents less than its rivals. This brought a complaint to Long from J. D. Dominguez, general manager of Upjohn de Mexico. Cyanamid acted "without any consultation or explanation whatsoever," he said in a letter of July 18, 1957. "This shows us that these price agreements are always violated without further notice." In a later letter, on October 7, 1958, Dominguez told John Van Liere, head of pricing for Upjohn International, of "a certain agreement with other American laboratories to sell tetracycline at the same price . . ."

In Colombia, Juan de J. Ayala, manager of Bristol's branch, got a letter dated March 7, 1958, from D. L. Keblinger, Bristol's sales director for the Western Hemisphere, instructing him to have a meeting to "try to arrive at a percentage of increase on a mutual basis which all will agree upon." On November 6, Rafael Gonzalez Venegas, Cyanamid's distributor in Colombia, told Ralph Roland of Cyanamid-International, "We have been in contact with the gentlemen of Pfizer and Bristol to raise our prices 10 percent higher."

In 1961, M. Rubio Maestre, Bristol's man in Venezuela, reported in a letter of February 27 on "two other meetings after which we tacitly agreed to maintain the prices which we had agreed upon. . . ." On May 4, Bristol-Venezuela told the home office in Syracuse, N.Y., about an "arrangement" on bidding to Venezuela's social security agency "which was very successful in bringing everyone to the same price. . . ." The letter expressed hope that a way would be found "to have the requested quantities divided equally."

These documents, which the Shapiro affidavit called "startling," were among several thousand which the City of New York obtained in 1967 under a court order that, pending further proceedings, withheld them from public view. The only ones that can be seen are those attached to the Shapiro affidavit, which was quietly filed last February in support of a motion for further discovery. In that motion, the City is seeking from Judge Inzer B. Wyatt an order giving access to company pricing files for 1954 and 1955 for Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Panama, Puerto Rico, Venezuela and Colombia, and for 1954 through mid-1964 for Canada.

The documents surfaced with the affidavit are in addition to those obtained several years ago by William Haddad while a reporter for the old *New York Herald Tribune*. Haddad turned his documents over to the Senate antitrust subcommittee, which until his death in 1963 was headed by Senator Estes Kefauver. He wanted to find out if a number of large American drug makers had cooperated in trying to prevent other American firms from participating in a Colombian Government plan to hold down drug prices and to prevent the adoption of such plans elsewhere in Latin America, if the antitrust laws had been violated in this context, and if these laws needed to be strengthened. But with Senator Edward V. Long (D., Mo.), now a lame duck, supporting Republicans on the subcommittee, Kefauver was unable to issue subpoenas to compel the testimony of big drug companies, including Pfizer, Upjohn, Squibb, Merck & Co. and Smith, Kline & French Laboratories. Senator Philip Hart, who succeeded Kefauver, carried on the effort but also was unable to break the deadlock in the subcommittee. In the spring of 1965, the subcommittee let the issue become moot after the Justice Department, through service of civil investigative demands by the Antitrust Division, began to obtain the relevant documents. For about a year, a grand jury in Washington looked into the matter but disbanded without taking action.

The Haddad papers were the principal basis of a speech on February 10, 1966, in which Senator Russell

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Long told the Senate that Pfizer, Cyanamid, Bristol, Squibb and Upjohn had engaged in a "reprehensible and shameful" international conspiracy to fix prices, with the principal victims being the aged and the poor of the United States and Latin America who need broad-spectrum antibiotics. Long produced what he called "the most startling price-fixing document I ever saw," a letter which Long said he could explain only with a glossary. The letter was written on November 7, 1958, by Rafael N. Silva, Pfizer's manager in Venezuela. He told of a recent "powwow" (price-fixing meeting) in which the companies represented were "brstlhstchdrllpttpfzr" – Bristol, Hoechst, Lederle, Lepetit (an Italian firm) and Pfizer. With such documents as that, plus those emerging in the civil litigation in New York City, a lack of further action by the Justice Department might be as difficult to understand as it is to pronounce "brstlhstchdrllpttpfzr."

Voting the Court Up or Down

Fortas, Johnson And the Senate

by Alexander M. Bickel

Not since 1930 has the Senate failed to confirm a nomination for the Supreme Court, and the only time it withheld its advice and consent to the appointment of a Chief Justice was in 1795 (John Rutledge of South Carolina). It may happen this year, although by way of a filibuster rather than directly, and it is important to try to identify the reasons why we are so close to so rare an event.

The timing of Chief Justice Warren's retirement cannot be taken seriously as an obstacle to the confirmation of a successor. The President's constitutional authority, and indeed obligation, to act is clear, and it would be extremely irresponsible for the Senate to force vacancies in high offices during the last half-year (or one year, or two years?) of the term of a President who is certain not to succeed himself, as under the Twenty-second Amendment no two-term or six-year President can. But the manner of Chief Justice Warren's retirement was regrettable. As Attorney General Clark testified to the Senate Judiciary Committee, only once before in the entire history of the Republic has a Justice resigned or retired at the pleasure of the President, that is to say, indicated an intention to leave, but remained in office until a successor was nominated and confirmed. This is what Chief Justice Warren did, and he did it, a Justice Department memorandum informed the Senate, at the suggestion of the President, made to the Chief Justice after the latter had given private notice of his intention to leave the Court.

This practice, which appears to have grown up among lower-court judges in recent years, is quite undesirable, as the single so-called precedent for it in the Supreme Court could hardly have demonstrated, since Justice Gray, who resigned in this fashion in July 1902, died very soon after, before the name of his successor went to the Senate. (The successor, incidentally, was none other than O. W. Holmes, Jr.) The practice offers subtle opportunities to the President and the incumbent Justice to negotiate the succession, and it puts to the Senate not just a nomination, but a choice, thus creating special pressures.

The Senate, to be sure, could indicate its disapproval of the practice while confirming the Fortas nomination, and perhaps in other circumstances that would have been all there was to it. But the actual circumstances include Lyndon Johnson's reputation for disingenuousness and love of maneuver. And so the suspicion will not down that the subtle opportunities for negotiating the succession have been availed of. Not one of Lyndon Johnson's appointments to the Supreme Court has been free of the atmosphere of maneuver. Justice Fortas himself succeeded Arthur Goldberg, who was lured off. Thurgood Marshall arrived as the last throw in a triple-play: Katzenbach to State, Ramsey Clark to the Attorney Generalship mak-

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ing it difficult for Tom C. Clark to continue as Associate Justice, and Marshall to Clark's place. All this, and Chief Justice Warren's decision to stay on till the qualification of a successor, may have been quite inadvertent. But in that event, the President might have cared more about appearances. On July 11, the first day of the Fortas hearings, Senator George Smathers of Florida, a member of the Judiciary Committee, remarked that he had "recommended to the powers that be that we avoid this particular argument . . . by designating a date certain upon which [the Chief Justice] was to retire." "I must say," he had to say, however, "that my advice was not followed." Why not? The question goes unanswered. During a vacancy, the senior Associate Justice, or if necessary the next senior, acts as Chief Justice, and a vacancy is no more disruptive than continued service by a Chief Justice whose resignation may take effect any day, at the discretion of the President and Senate.

Another strand in the tangled skein is Justice Fortas' activity as a presidential adviser. There is precedent for it – Brandeis and Frankfurter among others, though it will be many years before we can know in detail how the role that Fortas has played compares with that of Brandeis or Frankfurter – but that does not make it right, and Justice Fortas probably did not help matters much by minimizing his services to the President. His function at White House conferences, he testified, has been merely "to sum up the arguments on the one side, the considerations on the other side." The President called on him not for "advice, but for essentially analytical help." Even Senator Philip Hart of Michigan, a strong Fortas supporter, sighed: "I confess I think all of us, as citizens, had the notion that contact between Presidents and Justices of the Court would be social only." But again, the Senate could well be satisfied with sounding an appropriate caution against this sort of extracurricular activity, while voting confirmation. The widespread impression that Justice Fortas' summings-up at crucial conferences on Vietnam – Justice Fortas confirmed that his analytical assistance was sought on matters touching the war – had a hawkish slant are, after all, irrelevant.

The decisive element in the situation, the factor that transformed a hearing and a flurry into a struggle of uncertain outcome, is that the Senate was handed a legitimate opportunity for a vote of confidence or no confidence in the Supreme Court. Most Presidents have gone to great pains not to offer such opportunities, because of the obvious boat-rocking (and perhaps, more gravely, danger to the stability and authority of the entire structure of government) that must result from a direct clash between any two of the three independent and equal branches of the federal government. A vote of confidence is implicit in the confirmation process in attenuated fashion when a President makes a recess appointment – as Eisenhower did three times: Warren himself, Brennan and Stewart – and a Justice who has sat under such an appointment for a few months is then renominated for confirmation by the Senate. Consequently, recess appointments are rare and are frowned on. A vote of confidence is more inescapably implicit when an Associate Justice is nominated for the Chief Justiceship, and perhaps that is one reason why Chief Justices have been created by promotion from within the Court only twice before – White in 1911 and Stone in 1941 – and then the Associate Justices who were elevated were not of the appointing President's party, were very senior in the service of the Court, and were men of unassailable prestige.

Some of the more zealous "friends of Justice Fortas," in the phrase the President used at his press conference, would have it that the opportunity to pass judgment on the performance of the Supreme Court which some senators are seizing and others may feel they cannot avoid is not legitimate, that the Senate has no business at all agreeing or disagreeing with the law Justice Fortas and his colleagues have laid down, and that, at any rate, such agreement or disagreement is irrelevant in the process of confirmation. The Senate should pass on the professional competence of the nominee, the argument runs, and on his character, no doubt, but not on his philosophy or convictions; at least not on the philosophy and convictions that inform any prior judicial work of his. Thus the Senate was wrong in 1930, when it failed to confirm as Associate Justice John J. Parker of North Carolina, then a federal Circuit Judge, because of some of his decisions which were viewed as reactionary.

This position is untenable. It reminds us of a time around the turn of the century when conservative opinion deified the Court as the neutral exponent of immutable constitutional principles, all of which happily protected property and the status quo, and called only for the professional skill of the lawyer to be properly declared and applied. Any inquiry that went beyond the establishment of a nominee's qualifications and into his beliefs was therefore not only unnecessary, but an insult to the man, impugning his competence and his integrity, and a vote against a nominee based on his convictions was rank Populist heresy and subversion of the Constitution. But when Wilson nominated Brandeis in 1916, the cat came out of the bag. All those same conservatives were horror-stricken, and opposed Brandeis despite his competence as a lawyer, because they found his convictions distasteful. Well, neither Brandeis' opponents nor Justice Fortas' proponents can have it both ways. Judges

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make policy, and Brandeis' policy was different from that of VanDevanter and McReynolds and all those others whom the conservatives of the day did not oppose; and Justice Fortas' policy is different from that of Justice Harlan, and different again from that of Senators Strom Thurmond and Sam Ervin, and nothing is more centrally relevant to his confirmation.

"To what extent and under what circumstances," Chairman Eastland of the Senate Judiciary Committee asked Mr. Justice Fortas, "do you believe that the Court should attempt to bring about social, economic, or political changes?" In reading Justice Fortas' answer, one should have in mind the stress of the hearings and the provocative formulation of the question. The answer in its entirety was: "Zero, absolutely zero." But the Justice at other times indicated his awareness that policy-making by the Court is inevitable. Actually, not long before going on the bench, Justice Fortas had occasion to emphasize that in the performance of the office of Supreme Court Justice, more than anywhere else in government, a man's "essential convictions" come into play. And he agreed "absolutely" with Senator Thurmond that the task of the Senate was to inquire into his philosophy, though for perfectly valid reasons of separation of powers he declined to enlarge orally upon opinions he wrote or joined in as a Justice of the Court.

Wisdom can issue from strange sources, including in this instance, the egregious Strom Thurmond. "In view of the Court's enormous influence and relative lack of checks on the Court," said Mr. Thurmond at the hearings, "I believe the decisions of the Court . . . are a proper consideration . . . and are determining in deciding whether or not to confirm a Justice or Chief Justice." That is exactly right. If the nominee comes from outside the Court, he cannot be charged with its past product and he cannot very well be asked how he would in future decide some specific case that has not yet arisen or on which he has not seen briefs or heard argument. And so the Senate is left to guess what he would do once in, on the basis of things said and done outside. If the nominee has sat for three years, he will properly refuse to be cross-examined by the Senate on his decisions, but those decisions are the unavoidable basis for judgment about him.

It is too bad that in this election year, in the present mood of the country, the President deemed it opportune to nominate a junior Associate Justice, thus handing the Senate a chance to vote the Court up or down, so to speak. The arguments we have heard and shall hear are not edifying. Justice Fortas – as so often the Supreme Court itself – commands one's esteem and invites one's support for the enemies he has made. The decisions that have been seized upon are often not the ones most fairly subject to criticism, and very little intelligent criticism has been brought to bear specifically on the individual work of Justice Fortas himself. He has served ably, and has, meaning no offense, made a record that shows some centrist features, and should, if anything, in these respects, have more appeal to critics of the Court than the work of some of his colleagues. In general, however, he has formed part of the Court's dominant majority. Hence he is regarded as representative of it. The Senate would discredit itself if he were denied confirmation by a filibuster, without a floor vote on the nomination itself. The entire episode is deplorable, particularly so if the nomination fails.

Urgent: A Realistic Latin American Policy

by David F. Ross

The great expectations generated 20 years ago by Harry Truman's call for a bold new program of aid to underdeveloped areas, and rekindled eight years ago by John Kennedy's call for an Alliance for Progress in the Western Hemisphere, have faded once more into the customary Latin American *ambiente* of hopelessness and distrust of the United States.

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It was no coincidence that Truman's "bold new program" was announced within a few months of Secretary of State George Marshall's invitation to the nations of Europe to formulate a program of European recovery, and send us the bill. These were the twin prongs of the Truman-Marshall-Acheson-Kennan policy for defending America by building a strong free world, in which communism would find no hopeless misery on which to feed. The one was an outstanding success. We spent $13 billion, and within a few years we had what we had paid for, a strong and independ-

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ent Europe. The other has been a dismal failure. The population of the underdeveloped world continues to increase more rapidly than the food supply; the per capita income of the poor continues to rise more slowly than that of the affluent.

If we had done the same thing in Europe and in Latin America, we might conclude that our failure in the latter region was due to differences in its problems, and perhaps that its problems were insoluble. But the fact is that what was so outstandingly successful in Europe has never been tried elsewhere, and in the case of Latin America has been deliberately and steadfastly avoided. Proposals for a Marshall Plan for Latin America began to emanate from below the Rio Grande as early as 1948, at the World Trade and Employment Conference in Havana and at the Inter-American Conference in Bogota, for example. By 1954, the UN's Economic Commission for Latin America had worked out a fairly specific set of principles for such a plan. Without some indication of a likelihood of US support, however, there has been little incentive to go beyond the formulation of principles. And far from indicating the likelihood of support, the US has actively opposed all Latin American efforts to get together on a development program. Even the modest proposal that finally emerged from the inter-American conference. of finance ministers in 1954, that a committee should be set up to draft a proposal for an Inter-American Development Bank, was adopted without the vote of the US. It was not until 1959 that Washington's opposition had been overcome to the point that the Bank could be set up.

Meanwhile, by 1958 Latin American frustration had reached such depths that the Vice President was physically attacked in two capitals while on a "goodwill" tour. Thinking perhaps that this might have jolted the US into a greater sense of urgency, the President of Brazil brought forth in 1958 a new proposal for a regional attack on underdevelopment, called "Operation Pan America." It was greeted by Secretary Dulles with a call for Latin American "self-discipline, hard work and frugality," a response which very nearly ended the dialogue altogether until the advent of the Kennedy administration. In the dying days of the Eisenhower Presidency, the Inter-American Bank and related Social Progress Trust Fund were established, as a response more to the defection of Cuba than to the continued urging of our Latin American friends. The Trust Fund is significant in particular because it marked the dawning of a recognition that democracy was something not to be defended, but to be achieved in Latin America. As such, it was a progenitor of the Alliance for Progress.

It was at last at the Punta del Este conference in August, 1961, that the US showed a willingness to participate in a Latin American program for economic development on somewhat the same basis that had been so successful in Europe. By then, the elements of such a program had been thoroughly discussed and formulated over many years. Latin America was ready. US good faith seemed guaranteed by Kennedy's selection as Coordinator of the program of Teodoro Moscoso, the engineer of Puerto Rico's successful development program and an intimate of such Latin American liberals as Figueres of Costa Rica and Betancourt of Venezuela. In the shock that followed Kennedy's assassination and the excitement of Johnson's skillful pushing through of the Kennedy fiscal and civil rights programs, it was scarcely noticed in the US that Moscoso was eased out, and the Alliance quietly redirected into the old, time-tested channels of Latin American policy. It was very carefully noted throughout Latin America, however – joyfully by the large landowners and their military and political lackeys, and with sad resignation by the political liberals and the promoters of economic development.

What the US has steadfastly adhered to over these 20 years of failure (except briefly from 1961 through 1963) is basically a policy of keeping a tight hand on the purse strings, so that the money can be doled out where and to whom we think it should go. We were willing to deal with Europe as a mature and responsible being, which knew what was best for itself and had the competence to do it. We have not been willing to deal with Latin America except as a crew of unruly farm laborers in Texas or grateful and loyal domestic servants in New York. We have wanted to make sure of keeping to ourselves the power to reward virtue and punish evil in the administration of aid. We have jealously guarded our freedom to have pets among the Latin American nations. The result is that most of our aid has been frittered away in propping up friendly but unstable governments, rather than being employed in economic development.

Figures can be adduced to show that since World War II the United States has made available some $13 billion in assistance to Latin America, the same amount that was spent on the Marshall Plan. This is misleading, however. The $13 billion for Latin America includes over a billion in military assistance, loans of over $8 billion, of which $3 billion has already returned to us in interest and amortization payments, and a variety of other projects, such as surplus food disposal, only peripherally related to development. The equivalent figure for Europe would be, not $13 billion but $47.5 billion. Actual grants for economic development since the bold new program began have totaled only $1.25 billion for all of Latin America, less than

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Italy's share of the Marshall Plan, and about the same as West Germany's.

Among the underdeveloped regions also, Latin America's has been distinctly a cut-rate program. Taiwan, South Korea, and South Vietnam have each received more than all of Latin America. Turkey, India, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Pakistan, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, the Philippines, and Thailand have each received more than any Latin American nation. We have given more aid to Afghanistan than to Brazil, more to Liberia than to Chile, more to Iraq than to Mexico, and more to Nepal than to Panama.

But even more striking are the discrepancies within Latin America. Brazil, with a third of Latin America's population, has received just over a tenth of US development grants, making it the second largest beneficiary. The other leaders have been relatively small countries with neither well-articulated plans nor brilliant prospects for independent development: Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Chile, Haiti, and Peru, in decreasing order, have been the only other countries receiving more than $50 million over the past 20 years.

With the exception of Haiti, these favored few have something in common which makes it not entirely discreditable to the US that we have made them our pets. They are not the countries which are governed by the bad guys. Chile and Peru, through relatively free elections, have chosen as their presidents forward-looking, reform-minded, dedicated public servants. The Dominican Republic and Guatemala have governments which are creatures of the State Department and the CIA, which have had it made clear to them that they must make some moves toward taxing the rich and giving land to the poor. Bolivia is one of the three Latin American countries in which revolutionary land redistribution has actually taken place. With the exception of Haiti, they are all in some sense worthy of the Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval which has been awarded them. But what has brought them together in this exclusive club is that they are all governments which have been, or have appeared to be, under some threat from the Marxist left. And such a threat exists in Latin America precisely at those turning points in history when it would be least helpful for the United States to maintain a status-quo policy. This is the evil genius of the American aid program as it has been conceived and executed. Our policy of picking good guys and making pets of them has caused us to intervene in the initial stages of a revolution, and freeze it there.

A productive Latin American policy must rest on the recognition of four basic facts, which so far have eluded us:

► Real progress cannot take place in Latin America without revolution. Latin America is a feudal society, and feudalism will not survive the creation of a flexible, mass-consumption economy. This revolution may be peaceful, but it will mean the destruction of the established power structure.

► In a civilized community of nations, we can deal with other sovereign states only through their established power structures. Even the Russians, the Chinese, and the North Vietnamese, whom we so often accuse of violating this principle, know better than to attempt deals with opposition candidates or dissident political movements in the United States.

► The third fact, well known to all parents but difficult for politicians to accept, is that you cannot make people mature and responsible, you only let them be mature and responsible. No development program for Latin America, no matter how well financed, will be successful unless it is a Latin American program, worked out and carried out by Latin Americans.

► Of the 20 independent states of Latin America, not more than a handful are large enough, or varied enough in their resources, to develop independently. A Dominican Republic or Guatemala might develop, like Puerto Rico, as an appendage to the US economy, or as an integral part of a developing Latin American region, but it can go nowhere by itself. A modern economy is a complex machine, and a complex machine is one which has a large number of component parts. An economy based on subsistence agriculture or the export of bananas can be as small as one man with five acres of land; the minimum viable size for a prosperous modern commercial economy cannot be so precisely determined, but it is certainly larger than most of the nations of the underdeveloped world, including those of Latin America.

If these four points are accepted, the outlines of a Latin American policy follow almost automatically. The first and second dictate that we cease to deal bilaterally with particular pet governments. The fourth dictates the alternative – that we must deal instead with groupings of nations. The first, again, suggests that we should prefer such groupings to be functional rather than political – a river basin development authority or a coffee producers' association, for example, rather than an Organization of American States. The third dictates the nature of our dealings – that we should listen to their plans and decide whether to support them, not bring programs for them to decide to accept or reject.

The cost of such an approach would probably be more than we have been spending on Latin American development assistance. It should be more, because we have not been spending enough to achieve significant results. It will not, however, be as much as we

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fear. We have not listened to Latin America for a long time. If we had been listening we would have heard that for a long time their most urgent requests have been not for money, but for special trading relationships that require no appropriations and that cost the taxpayer nothing. They have asked us, for example, for non-reciprocal tariff concessions. They would like to be able to continue to protect their infant industries without foregoing access to the US market. They have asked for commodity price stabilization agreements – not price supports, but merely price stabilization. A few adjustments in our strategic stockpiling of tin, for example, might have meant a great deal more to the Bolivian economy than being the number one Latin American aid recipient. The International Coffee Agreement, which deprives the American consumer of occasional bonanzas of 40-cents-a-pound coffee but also protects him from $1-a-pound coffee, is unquestionably a greater asset to El Salvador and Costa Rica than the AID program as it has functioned up to now.

The significant cost of a Latin American policy such as is here proposed would be the loss of our role as Big Daddy in Latin America. What this role is worth to us as individual Americans depends upon our particular ego fulfillments, and cannot be calculated objectively. For us as a nation, however, it has undoubtedly been a tar pit, in which our every move has served only further to blacken our image. The process of economic development is still imperfectly understood, and it cannot be guaranteed that this or any other new Latin American policy would produce a long and prosperous life for every *peon* and *campesino*. What is certain is that it would do a lot for the United States.

Cutting the Defense Budget

Can the Next President Do It?

by Ralph E. Lapp

Make no mistake about it. Congress and the next President will be confronted with immense pressure in the post-Vietnam period, if and when they attempt to cut back defense funds. The "military-industrial complex," whose hard core is in the aerospace industries, is real and growing. When President Eisenhower first warned of it, aerospace sales were about $18 billion a year. All but $3.5 billion of this total were sales to a single customer – the US government. Today aerospace sales are approaching the $30 billion level, with federal contracts accounting for three-fourths of the business.

Federal contracts are heavily concentrated in the largest industrial concerns like Lockheed Aircraft and General Dynamics. These two companies will have combined sales of over $5 billion this year and almost nine-tenths of this will be to the federal government. The aerospace labor force is similarly concentrated, both in a few companies and in a few geographic areas. It is in the political power of these aerospace workers that the military-industrial complex will manifest its greatest potency. There are 1.6 million workers in the major aerospace industries, and these together with relatives, friends and community beneficiaries of federal funds add up to five million votes.

To date the fortunes of the aerospace companies have been supported by an increasing flow of federal dollars. In the past three years aerospace firms have received almost $60 billion in federal orders. But if the Apollo project and Vietnam had not come along, aerospace sales today would be less than 10 years ago. Apollo's funds to land men on the moon are already tapering off and no post-Apollo program of multibillion dollar size has been approved by Congress. In my opinion none could be, given the urgency of our present domestic needs.

Commercial sales, while highly publicized, do not suffice to sustain the giants in the industry. Take the Supersonic Transport, for example. Assume that a plane is successfully engineered and manufactured. Five hundred of these priced at $40 million amounts to $20 billion. But production would stretch from 1975 to 1990 and this dollar volume would not keep

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even the Boeing contractor going. (Boeing sales are expected to exceed $3 billion this year.)

It's no wonder that SSS men (Strategic Systems Salesmen) from the big aerocompanies are starting up a drumfire of publicity for new aircraft and missiles. It's increasingly clear that one of the underlying factors in the campaign to erect a ballistic missile defense system (the Sentinel System and its follow-on Nike-X system) is the attraction of an eventual $50 to $60 billion volume of defense business associated with it. The SSS men have likewise trumpeted the merits of a new Advanced ICBM, a new Advanced Manned Strategic Aircraft (AMSA) as well as other expensive aerospace embellishments.

Oddly enough, it is a technological development that confounds the hopes of aerospace contractors who seek more federal sales. The situation may be described rather briefly:

(1) The US strategic strike forces now consist of 1,000 Minuteman (I and II) ICBM's and 656 Polaris SLBM's plus 54 Titan ICBM's and a force of about 700 intercontinental bombers.

(2) Advocates of increased defense spending maintain that the Soviets will soon have as many ICBM's as the US. They therefore urge authorization of more missiles and more bombers to achieve a greater degree of superiority with respect to the Soviet Union.

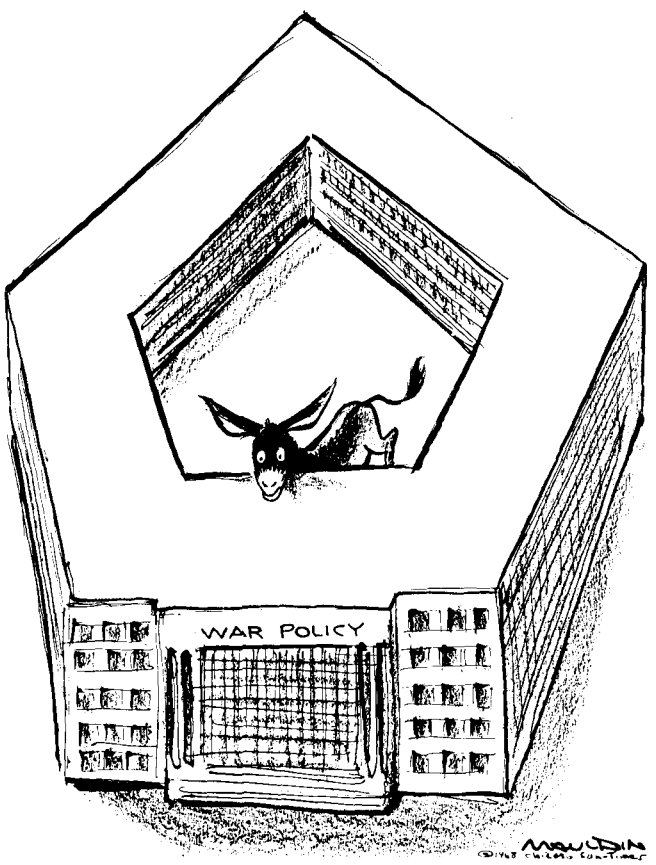
(3) The US, however, is improving Minuteman and Polaris missiles so that *each missile can carry a multiplicity of reentry vehicles*. These multiple, independently targetable, reentry vehicles (MIRV warheads) are to be launched by Minuteman III and Poseidon (replacing Polaris). Depending on the penetration capabilities built into the reentry vehicles, a single missile may dispatch from 3 to 15 warheads. According to data that Robert McNamara disclosed in his last appearance before Congress, so far as industrial kill capacity is concerned, 200 one-megaton warheads delivered on target "saturate" Soviet plants and industrial complexes. About twice as many warheads suffice to reach a point of diminishing returns so far as the killing of people is concerned.

Considering just our present missile force of 1,710 launchers, we now have an obvious assured destruction capability, even allowing for failure of missiles to be launched or to operate successfully. A total force loading of 4,500 warheads for MIRV missiles, plus bomber delivery makes our margin of safety even greater.

Advocates of increased US strategic power nevertheless argue that the Soviet missile force endangers the security of our land-based ICBM's. They contend that the Russians may acquire a first-strike capability and target our Minuteman bases so precisely and simultaneously as to destroy our ICBM's in their protective silos. This is pure fantasy. In the first place, Soviet military leaders could not be sure that we would ride out an attack by them of such magnitude. They would assume, and rightly so in my opinion, that our Minuteman ICBM's could be fired in salvo fashion prior to warhead impact. Second, considering the geographic spread of the silos, it would be impossible for the Russians to time-phase the strategic blitz so as to hit all sites simultaneously. Third, the attack would have to be sure of knocking out 90 percent or more of the land bases; even then, the Soviets would face the return fire of Poseidon missiles that have very low vulnerability to attack.

If my arguments on missile kill capacity are true, or even approximately so, then it follows that the MIRV development is revolutionary. The assumed return fire from US strike forces becomes so high that *nothing the Soviets can do*, either offensively or in terms of ballistic defense, will keep pace with the penalties their cities and industrial complexes would suffer. By multiplying US strategic striking power, as measured in target damage achievable, MIRV obviates the need for new ICBM's.

It is important to focus on these strategic-ballistic



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issues not only because of their critical importance to the deterrence of nuclear war, but because this 1968 political campaign may develop a "missile gap" controversy based on simplistic arithmetic applied to missile launchers and megatons. The American people are poorly instructed in the new math of nuclear deterrence. Very few of our newspapers carry military commentary in depth necessary to explain the new math of what I call "rational deterrence."

Recently the Stennis subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee released two reports titled "Status of US Strategic Power." Senators on the Stennis Preparedness Investigating subcommittee heard testimony from Dr. Alain C. Enthoven, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Systems Analysis, that provides the most comprehensive exposition of US deterrent power yet published. To be sure the testimony is heavily censored, but enough shows through to make it clear that Dr. Enthoven has no doubts about the adequacy of US strategic power, either now or in the foreseeable future. Yet the press release accompanying the second Stennis report does not reflect this confidence. And in the June 24 debate on the Sentinel (ABM) System, all but two members of the Armed Services Committee voted going ahead with an ABM. Only Margaret Chase Smith and Stuart Symington voted against authorizing the Sentinel System. From that debate and subsequent evidence, we know that the original, proposed "thin" Sentinel had never really been keyed to a Chinese threat but had been a maneuver designed to get the ABM system started. When the time scale for the Red Chinese missile threat was protracted, advocates of the "thin" Sentinel were challenged to defer deployment of an ABM. Instead they switched over to the Soviet danger, even though a "thin" Sentinel makes no sense against a Soviet threat and a "thick" Sentinel cannot be devised to cope with a massive strategic attack.

In the Defense budget for 1969 the largest single item is $35.2 billion for "General Purpose Forces." It is that large because of Southeast Asia and may be expected to shrink the most in the post-Vietnam budget. Southeast Asia costs for the four-year period fiscal years, 1966-69, are estimated at $78 billion. Expenditures for the General Purpose Forces during this same four-year period add up to $131 billion, compared to a total of $72.8 billion in fiscal 1962-65 time span. Thus Southeast Asia expenditures over the four-year period represent a $55.2 billion increase over the pre-Vietnam expenditures for General Purpose Forces. There is thus about $25 billion associated with General Purpose Forces that must inevitably be the prime target for budget cutting.

Clearly, the reduction of Army-Navy-Air Force expenditures will depend not only on the world situation but also upon the civilian attitude toward active military defense of US interest on other continents. Certainly no US President is likely to risk another military venture like Vietnam without questioning most closely the quality of his military advice. Airpower enthusiasts need to be queried carefully about their claims upon the defense dollar in the light of the Vietnam experience. It will be recalled that in the siege of Khesanh the US Air Force required 10 tons of air-dropped bombs to kill one Vietcong. The real lesson of Vietnam is that guerrilla warfare is not easily countered by the forces of modern technology. Not even pre-Vietnam expenditures of $72.8 billion from 1961 to 1964 for General Purpose Forces allowed the United States to deploy conventional forces in Vietnam at an effective level. This being so, the Pentagon strategists will have to come up with a persuasive case for anything in the $60 to $70 billion range for the defense budget. My own view would be that the President in 1970 would be justified in aiming at a budget of about $50 billion, making the deepest cuts in General Purpose Forces.

But it will take a strong-willed Defense Secretary backed up by a resolute President to hammer out a $50 billion budget in the aftermath of Vietnam. Certainly each of the Services will compete to get the lion's share of what's to be had. Each will depend on strong associations on Capitol Hill to promote its interests. Industry is not likely to be bashful when it sees cuts in the offing, and in this respect labor unions will constitute a potent pressure group seeking to maintain employment at high levels in defense industry. Hard line legislators may be expected to maximize the potential threat of every Soviet move.

Consider some of the dilemmas the President would face in trying to whack certain items out of the DOD budget. Suppose he decided that an item totaling $3.3 billion – for example, the amount of the Lockheed contracts for C5A Galaxy transports – could be eliminated and so instructed his Secretary of Defense. It would be a brave Secretary who would tell a chairman of the Armed Services Committee the news – especially when the work was being done in the legislator's home state.

Suppose that the Advanced Manned Strategic Aircraft (AMSA) had been started toward a goal of 210 bombers costed at $8.1 billion. Would an incumbent in the White House have the political nerve to cut back this contract in 1972 and put workers out of jobs in key states like California?

President Eisenhower's indictment of the "military-industrial complex" was prophetic. It may have become a machine like a nuclear chain reactor with jammed controls, so that it defies a power reduction.

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Stanley Kauffmann

Early Stages

Most histories of the American theater are poor stuff. The majority are just serviceable pedantry; the rest are usually either "glamorous" or intellectually thin or both. Very exceptionally a history is factually valuable and is also a work of grace and insight – the great example is George C. D. Odell's fifteen-volume *Annals of the New York Stage*. But most of them are pretty discouraging to a reader who has enjoyed such critical art-histories as, say, Lewis Mumford's *Sticks and Stones* or Alfred Kazin's *On Native Grounds* or Wilfrid Mellers' *Music in a New Found Land*.

Things theatrical are looking up. The literature is a long way from richness, but at least there is now some realization that it has been poor. The last few years have produced, for example, Garff B. Wilson's *History of American Acting* and Jane DeHart Mathews' *The Federal Theatre 1935-1939*, neither of which is first rate but both of which in any case understand their obligations. Now David Grimsted has published the best book on its subject that I know and one of the few American theatrical histories that can be recommended to the general reader.*

The title, *Melodrama Unveiled*, is literally apt but too constricting. Grimsted's real subject is in his subtitle, "American Theater and Culture 1800-1850." Certainly he shows us how melodrama *was* unveiled, but he also shows us why; and that history is much more interesting than the genre itself. At any rate, the book is considerably larger than a study of melodrama, which the main title implies. Grimsted writes intelligently and well about the theater as a social-cultural function, as the result of give-and-take between itself and the world around it. His book is a product of thought, not merely of plodding research, yet it is documented thoroughly. (But why so few illustrations – and only in the endpapers?)

At the end of the 18th century, the American theater was influenced by some legacies of the Enlightenment and some impulse to fulfill Columbia's destiny as the home of the New Man. Shakespeare was the staple of most theaters, along with other classics, and a good deal of the drama criticism of the time urged the theater onward and upward. Ambitious American plays were written and produced (as well as less ambitious native plays and entertainments). There were even several proposals for publicly subsidized theaters. However short-lived, there was the sense of a historical moment.

The quality of production in the early 19th century must often have been ragged; how could it have been otherwise? Grimsted writes:

> "Within a week a theatrical company might offer as the evening's feature play a melodrama, a Shakespearean tragedy, an opera, an eighteenth-century comedy, and a fairy-tale play."

These were only the feature offerings; there was almost always a comic afterpiece. And all of these works were performed by the same company, more or less, including the opera. (The tragedienne Charlotte Cushman made her debut in Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro*.) Still, whatever the quality, theaters flourished all over the country. By the middle 1820's New York was recognized as America's theater center, but by the middle '50s there were 58 American communities with permanent theaters. These in addition to numerous traveling troupes and touring stars.

As the population grew, as the frontier became a fact for many and a metaphysical presence for all, and as cultural independence from Europe became a passion, the theater changed and responded. The classics – of British drama particularly – were certainly not abandoned, but a new, popular drama began to appear and increase. This form, too, had a European origin: the play that ushered melodrama into the United States was French – Caignez' *The Voice of Nature* (1803). But melodrama was quickly naturalized; it became the vehicle of the age's ethos, truth, and hypocrisy. Grimsted says, apropos of an archetypal play called *Rosina Meadows*:

> "Its conventions were false, its language stilted and commonplace, its characters stereotypes, and its morality and theology gross oversimplifications. Yet its appeal was great, and understandable. It took the lives of common people seriously and paid much respect to their superior purity and wisdom. . . . And its moral parable struggled to reconcile social fears and life's awesomeness with the period's confidence in absolute moral standards, man's upward progress, and a benevolent providence that insured the triumph of the pure."

Before chuckling complacently at the past, look at tonight's TV Western. Even if it's "adult" – that is, has a varnish of cynicism and sexual liberality – it conforms essentially to Grimsted's description.

The Astor Place riot in 1849 was a turning point in American theater history. It was the outgrowth of rivalry between two stars, the American Edwin Forrest and the English William Charles Macready. The latter was playing in New York, and Forrest's supporters agitated against him on straight chauvinistic lines. ("Down with the codfish aristocracy!" "Huzza for Native Talent!") On the night of May 10th, a large mob gathered outside Macready's theater. They became unruly, and the military were called to aid the police. Shots were fired; 22 people were killed or died of wounds, and 30 more were injured. I have always thought of this riot as a drastic expression in vulgarized form of the idea that (among other critics) Walt Whitman presented in the *Brooklyn Eagle*: the idea that American art was

(Continued on page 42)

* *Melodrama Unveiled:* American Theater and Culture, 1800-1850. By David Grimsted. (University of Chicago; $8.95).

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Books and the Arts

New Fundamentalist Movement

by Jack Richardson

The Sixties have produced a new fundamentalist movement in America. Pop, Camp, Psychedelic or Hip are simply different ways of shading what is basically a revolt against the complexities of a culture. In art, music, and politics, the search has been to locate the primitive terms behind the formal maze that tradition has created, and once these terms are thought to be found, whether in harmonics, optics or the profile of a celebrity, they are heralded as the real thing, the unadorned, the way it really is once all the clutter of a civilization has been stripped away. Even the Freak-out, the Trip, and their phantasmagorical replicas that pop up as decor in clubs and meeting places for the faithful are insistences on a sort of sensory purity, the mystic reduction of all things to the vision, to the individual's contact with divinity without any formal intermediary demanding an intellectual toll. Simply listening to the conversation of the votaries of this new philosophy reveals its yearnings for good, old human foundations. "Love," "moral," "evil," "beautiful" – these are terms that cultivated discourse has skirted in the last century, demanding that any blatant utterance of them be attended by high cultural qualifications in the case of the poet and rigid logical ones in the instance of the philosopher. The new fundamentalists, however, have snatched these words out of this wry, *sotto-voce* limbo, and, without cross-checking with the academy, have brought them back into ordinary communication with an enthusiasm that presumes an intuitive faith that they know what they are talking about.

The Pump House Gang
by Tom Wolfe
(Farrar, Straus & Giroux; $5.95)
The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test
by Tom Wolfe
(Farrar, Straus & Giroux; $5.95)

Literature has had a hard time dealing with this movement, for it is an art that does not reduce itself easily to basic origins. Pages full of exclamations, simplistic observations, and linguistic naïveté may make an aesthetic point, but they also make dull reading. Literature as a complex response to human phenomena and all that this entails – irony, ambiguity, moral relativity, cultural parables etc. – is antipathetic to the new fundamentalist. There is thus a whole generation coming into being whose most significant way of judging experience is not through the written word; indeed, their experience seems to have counseled them to be wary of books, to see them at best as being elaborate verbal games that are slowly going out of fashion.

I don't know whether or not Tom Wolfe can rescue the art of letters from this judgment, but he certainly has a style suited to the fundamentalist's sensibility. He comes at you with all the flourish, effulgence and didactic rhetoric of a Baptist preacher. He is a word-spinner wondering at the creation of the Lord, the creation, mind you, not the Lord himself, for Wolfe is a journalist and his sermon, well-tuned to the demands of the faithful, rejoices over what is simply happening, what the new thing is for today. Never mind if the new things are trivial or pathetic (these are archaic categories anyway), faith and exuberance will redeem all. Just listen to the language, hear the onomatopoeia and the conglomerate adjectives and all the old prejudices about significance will be washed away.

The famous Wolfe style is unique, expressive and often a great deal of fun, qualities that make it something of high regard at a time when so much prose seems produced by a diffident computer programmed for understatement. But his verbal carnival has its limitations: it only seems workable when its object is ridiculously simple. In *The Pump House Gang*, for example, a collection of magazine pieces, Wolfe reports on a group of California surfers, Hugh Hefner, Carol Doda of the silicone breasts, New York parties, Natalie Wood and her theory of art, and some half dozen or so similarly unshattering examples of contemporary life. He handles these gingerly enough, and if one is made uncomfortable by his heavy dependence on words like "status," "hip," "square," as though they provided some sociological information – well, these are the foundations of the new philosophy, to be accepted on faith lest we fall back into the old quagmire of distinctions. However, when the subject is, say, Marshall McLuhan and the reaction to him, Wolfe's evangelical exuberance is inadequate. He cannot in this case describe without analysis, and so, depends on large, facile assumptions to inform his words with some attitude, which produces an awkward amalgam of the usual Wolfe zip and some embarrassingly over-simplified scientific outlines in an I'm-speaking-seriously-now style.

By far the more interesting of the two books is the chronicle of author Ken Kesey's metamorphosis from novelist to psychedelic mystic. *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* provides Wolfe with enough wild action so that his way of offering the message to his readers is always in happy company. Here the literary style is a tribute to the life style of the characters – Kesey and his followers, called The Pranksters – who gathered around LSD and its lesser affiliates and then set out to spread the message of the new vision across the land. Kesey seems to have been one of the first voyagers into psychedelia to come back with tales of a spiritual Eldorado that made the

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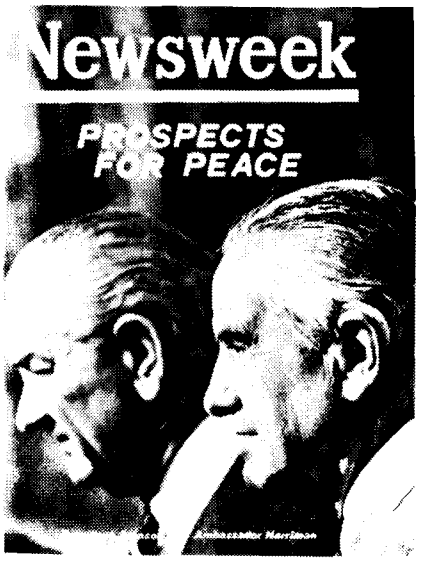
Sure, you've heard of Newsweek–but have you read it lately?



"During this strange and mystifying election year, the United States has discovered one very important thing about itself," wrote Newsweek Signed Opinion columnist Stewart Alsop. "This is that the United States is not designed by nature for the role of world leadership thrust upon it in the aftermath of the second world war. The politicians put it a little differently. 'This country is not the world's policeman,' is Hubert Humphrey's favorite cliché. The other candidates echo the cliché in one form or another, always in the context of the war in Vietnam. For the polls and the primaries have made it clear that the American electorate has lost its stomach for the war in Vietnam."

"When the enemy proved impossible to dig out," reported Newsweek's Francois Sully from Saigon, "American Cobra helicopters swarmed overhead, blasting the empty houses with rockets and machine guns. Barely 30 yards from where I stood, a middle-aged Vietnamese driving his three-wheeled passenger bus on the highway was hit in the leg. He fell on the shoulder of the road and, as blood geysered from a severed artery, he died without a word. A South Vietnamese soldier ambled over to me and said matter-of-factly: 'His fate was to die. Take a picture.'"

"As the state of the transplant art progresses, the moral and theological questions are certain to become more complex. Brain transplants in dogs have already been tried by Dr. Robert J. White of Western Reserve University. Yet in the case of a human brain, scientists are almost certain the recipient would acquire the donor's memory, intelligence, emotions—in short, his personality. Then, who would he be? Himself or the donor?"

"One option is to leave the church, and some jittery Catholics undoubtedly will. But a full-scale schism is improbable, since no one is anxious to organize yet another church. Indeed, it is because they care deeply for the church—and the papacy—that many of Paul's critics now look upon the crisis he has created as a God-given opportunity to examine the real theological and philosophical issues that the encyclical has forced to the surface."

"The young Negro student sat listening intently as his teacher at Proviso East High School in suburban Chicago told the class some facts about democracy, U.S.A. 'To begin with,' the teacher said, 'the Declaration of Independence spells out the fundamental belief that all men are created equal.' The boy shot back: 'That's a lie. The black man isn't equal.'"

"Facials, hair-dos, make-ups; body massages, hose treatments, manicures, pedicures; paraffin baths and steam baths and exercise and seaweed baths and mud baths and skin peeling and silicone injections and face lifts and oxygen sniffing and injections of unborn animal organs and who only knows what else—all of this is the serious, funny, sad and somehow charming pursuit of beauty. Beauty is also $7 billion, the estimated total spent in 1967, divided equally between beauty parlors, and the makers of toiletries and cosmetics. A nice business, growing at 10 per cent or more each year; a business, even, that's immune to recession, because a woman with worries needs more reassurance."

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world of ordinary consciousness seem a stale, inchoate, constricted imitation of reality. He rose up among the wandering tribes of California, found his disciples and became a leader to those drifting out of social gravity into their own orbits. Until running afoul of the police, Kesey led his little band across America staging impromptu "Acid Tests" as he went along. These tests, hip camp meetings where the local populace was invited to turn on, began finally to rub society wrong even before LSD had been declared illegal, and after several bumps against the terrene police force of California, Kesey was snared on a marijuana charge and skipped across the border into Mexico. Much of Wolfe's book is an account of his fugitive life there which was, it appears, a wild cops-and-robbers fantasy spiced with comic intrusions from the Mexican secret police. Even while being pursued by real and imaginary social enforcers, Kesey managed to keep up his campaign. Along with some of the Pranksters who had joined him in exile, he moved about northern Mexico staging his acts of faith in small villages, turning an Indian on here, an inspector of police on there. Finally, however, he decided to return to California where he was arrested and ultimately concluded that the drug movement was not being creative enough and that one must finally go past chemical euphoria into something more.

Such a pilgrimage has by now become common, so that over much of the goings-on of Kesey and his Pranksters there hangs a staleness, a certain forced frenzy that is perhaps more related to Wolfe's presentation than to the movement itself. Does one need all that breathless razzmatazz just to serve up another trip to Nirvana? Are all those hysterical participles necessary to describe what one gets every week on national television?

Finally, there is something peculiar about *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*; namely, its hero. Kesey, never gets to disentangle himself from the happenings that Wolfe so lusciously describes. He is always on, encapsulated in the wild verbal sheath of his biographer, exuding charisma to all his followers, but never speaking for himself – in

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fact, he hardly ever *says* anything at all. This may be a clever design on the part of the Preacher to keep us from being confused by the sacred text; for, it must be admitted that when Kesey is quoted, he makes odd reading. Here is a sample of his founding principles for his new colony:

> "None of us are going to deny what other people are doing. If saying bullshit is somebody's thing, then he says bullshit. If somebody is an ass-kicker, then that's what he's going to do on this trip, kick asses. He's going to do it right out in front and nobody is going to have anything to get pissed off about."

In the dim, receding world of logical discourse, one might have asked what Kesey would have done with someone whose "thing" happened to be considering his companions edible slabs of roast beef and acting accordingly. A man as verbally gifted as Kesey has proved to be in his novels, must have had something more on his mind than the few snippets of utopian nonsense like this and other similar statements which Wolfe recorded in his book. If he did, it really never gets through the explosion of Wolfe's words – an explosion which for all its excitement sometimes seems to level the people he's writing about into little more than human hyperboles.

That is the main obstacle in all of Wolfe's work, this leveling of so much that is individual, peculiar and distinct in order to catch a mood, a trend – anything that can be laid out broadly and simply. But as I said, this is what the fundamentalists demand in their literature, a sort of group-movement prose that binds them all together. For them, Preacher Wolfe tells it like it is.

The Salt of The Earth

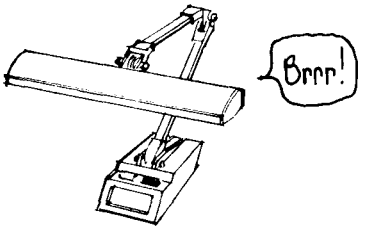
by James Finn

Scrawled on one of the barricades erected by students during the near-revolution in France was the legend, "Be realistic, attempt the impossible." It is a motto that could well have been adopted, I think, by the Catholic Worker movement in this country. Any group that accepts the Sermon on the Mount as a practical guide to political and social action is courting controversy and trouble, and the Catholic Workers have known their share. Since the inception in 1933 this remarkable organization has pursued in its intense, erratic fashion goals that by most standards lie outside the range of what is politically or socially possible, and it has developed programs that initially promised little chance of success.

A Penny A Copy: Readings from the Catholic Worker
edited by Thomas C. Cornell and James H. Forest
(Macmillan; $6.95)

The Catholic Worker has advocated anarchism, pacifism and personalism; it picketed the late Cardinal Spellman when he attempted to break the 1949 gravediggers' strike in New York, publicly refused to participate in compulsory air-raid drills, and returned thousands of dollars in interest owed to it by the City of New York because "we do not believe in the profit system"; it has won the affectionate support of people as disparate as Jacques Maritain, W. H. Auden, Evelyn Waugh and numberless types on the Bowery; it has supported hosts of unpopular causes, some of which well deserved their unpopularity; it has been the testing ground for many people who have left the Worker carrying some of the radical ideas with them; and it has throughout its vicissitudes published *The Catholic Worker*, a monthly paper that is still a penny a copy.

When a full story of the Catholic Worker movement is produced, it will be a measurable addition to our social history. Until then the best written accounts will be sections of *The Long Loneliness*, the autobiography in which



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Dorothy Day describes the founding and early days of the movement, and the running account which is *The Catholic Worker*. Against even some internal opposition Dorothy Day has insisted over the years that anarchism is a basic principle of the Worker movement. The monthly paper, in all its aspects, supports her contention. Some of this quality is inevitably lost in *A Penny A Copy*, this well-edited selection of readings from *The Catholic Worker*, for much that was trivial or foolish or poorly written or severely inbred – and thus much that people have found attractive in the *Worker* – has been pruned away. What is here represents the journal at its best, which is very good indeed. Quite properly, Dorothy Day is most heavily represented, but there are selections from regular contributors such as Peter Maurin, John Cogley, Gordon Zahn, Tom Sullivan, William Everson (Brother Antoninus), Robert Ludlow and Thomas Merton.

What is most remarkable about many of these articles is first, that they speak so directly to the needs of our own time and second, that they avoid the sentimentality which is, apparently, a constant temptation to small, radical groups. In order to suggest their tone as well as substance, I would like to quote copiously from articles which reexamine pacifism during World War II and the Hungarian revolution, deplore Hiroshima, describe life behind bars, support the Rosenbergs and mourn the death of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, proclaim the rights of the downtrodden and the need for revolution, and assert continually and insistently the need to regard every person as a person rather than as a "case," or a unit or a cause. I will content myself with two quotations, the first from Dorothy Day:

"Mr. Truman was jubilant. President Truman. Truman; what a strange name, come to think of it. We refer to Jesus Christ as true God and true Man. Truman is a true man of his time in that he was jubilant. He was not a son of God, brother of Christ, brother of the Japanese, jubilating as he did. He went from table to table on the cruiser which was bringing him

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home from the Big Three conference, telling the great news; 'jubilant' the newspapers said. *Jubilate Deo.* We have killed 318,000 Japanese.

"That is, we hope we have killed them, the Associated Press, on page one, column one of the *Herald Tribune,* says. The effect is hoped for, not known. It is to be hoped they are vaporized, our Japanese brothers, scattered, men, women and babies, to the four winds, over the seven seas. Perhaps we will breathe their dust into our nostrils, feel them in the fog of New York on our faces, feel them in the rain on the hills of Easton.

"*Jubilate Deo.* President Truman was jubilant. . . ."

The second is from an essay in which John McKeon describes the regular activities of another Worker:

". . . in a dozen darkened doorways, sodden with drink, forgotten or unwanted by every social agency, hospital or relief bureau in town, will be lying the bums, the unwanted, the far down. And among them Raymond will go, because the night is cold, the ground freezing and it is death to lie on it exposed and without covering, unconscious from drink. And he will haul them to their feet when he comes to them, try to get them to walk, talk to them, fight to fan the flickering flame of survival within them. And they will not thank him for dragging them back from the dearly purchased fumes of unconsciousness. They will kick at him and curse him, punch him if he is unwary enough or persists. But he will persist, because that is Raymond's apostolate. Out of a great city of eight million souls, we will all of us be too busy, or cold, or preoccupied this night with our own problems to go among the sodden failures, trying to get them to stand up, to walk, to struggle, not to die tonight, that they may live and go out and get drunk and fall down and freeze tomorrow night.

"A fool's venture, any reasonable man would say, and out of pride and distaste would withdraw from contact with the diseased, vermin-ridden, ill-smelling bodies. And no one volunteers. But obviously God counts the work valuable, because every now and then He takes a man or woman of strength, and breaks them of the pride and reasonableness that they prize so much and sends them forth to do it and the work is done."

It is in dark days like the present, when the results of our politics are so dispiriting (when the only consolation open to many people is that one of the two leading presidential candidates must lose) and our future course so uncertain, that movements like the Catholic Worker assert their relevance. For when what seems possible is so clearly inadequate and what is impossible seems necessary, the radical and the utopian become increasingly attractive. I have neither faith nor hope that the ideals of the Catholic Worker will soon prevail in this world. It is their fate to be the leaven, the salt of the earth. But if we are not nourished with their impossible ideals we will die.

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AN OPEN LETTER to HHH

Dear Mr. Vice President:

I write this letter not as what you have called a "strident," "violent," or "self-righteous" person, but as a Democrat who supported you in 1960 but cannot do so this year. Let me explain why many Democrats have reached a conclusion you undoubtedly find unthinkable.

First, there can be no mistake that vast numbers of us have had enough of the present Administration's way of doing things and a large part of the content of its policies. It is easy to dismiss such feelings as emotional, anti-Texas, or so superficial that they will be overcome by the specter of Richard Nixon in the White House. I, for one, born and raised in California, a Stevenson supporter there as a boy in 1952, and well versed in the saga of the bad "Old Nixon," would recommend against dismissing this disaffection so easily. Many Democrats can and will either reluctantly support Richard Nixon, hoping that in defeat the Democratic Party will be reborn, abstain or cast protest votes for Eugene McCarthy, Eldridge Cleaver, Dick Gregory, or whomever.

You will undoubtedly ask what is demanded of you as proof that you are your own man. Just by asking that question, however, you would prove why you are distrusted and the extent to which you misunderstand the thrust of the so-called "New Politics." For, the shopworn scenario of American politics is for each pressure group to draw up a shopping list which candidates subscribe to in order to gain votes. After the election, much of the shopping list is forgotten, and no one really expects it to be otherwise. What many of us are looking for now (and this explains the attraction of Eugene McCarthy) is a man who has thought through his own positions, who does not pander to every viewpoint, and who does not consistently straddle issues with statements such as the one in your acceptance speech that "Violence breeds counter violence and it cannot be condoned whatever its source." That statement was meant to be meaningless; it did not even attempt to deal with the complicated issue of police behavior in situations of civil disobedience or demonstrations.

You will say, of course, that I, and others like me, are ideologues, searching only for a man or party supporting our positions 100 percent – that we belong in Fourth Republic France, not the United States, where political pragmatism has served so well. Not at all. We seek a man with sufficiently strong personal convictions on the great issues of race and war to offer leadership to a confused country. We realize that these are complicated issues, that progress requires compromise, but we also know that a national leader's approach and instincts must be "right" if he is to talk plainly to the electorate and, more importantly, if he is to find a way out of Vietnam and turn the country's attention to the domestic dry rot.

What then are the "right" instincts and approaches? In the area of foreign policy, there must be genuine commitment to a reconsideration of our world posture. You will say that "Humphrey has said we cannot be the world's policeman." Such blatant wordsmanship is exactly what we repudiate. Lyndon Johnson and Dean Rusk have repeated the phrase too, and there is no indication it represents their true feelings. You will also say that you are being asked to repudiate a policy of constructive internationalism and for a return to fortress America. Not at all. I, for one, having served 5 years at a junior level in the State Department, advocate no turning away from interest in the rest of the world. There is, however, a clear difference between the kind of creative partnership in world economic development that is open to us through the World Bank or the open and sympathetic diplomacy practiced by many of President Kennedy's envoys in the underdeveloped countries and our arrogant (let us not shrink from telling it like it is) use of power in Latin America and elsewhere, our petty carping at General de Gaulle's vision of Europe because it doesn't happen to conform to the advertising slogan that the Atlantic Ocean is only a river, and our misguidedly massive intervention in Southeast Asia. Above all else, in the foreign policy area, where the Executive must lead and will always have more information than others, we long for candor.

For instance, it was either demagoguery or obtuseness that motivated condemnation of Eugene McCarthy's statement that he would not have called a middle-of-the-night National Security Council meeting on the Czech invasion. For the obvious thrust of his remark was that such a meeting was a gimmick which even the most unsophisticated could see through. The empty gesture of calling a meeting (to look at cables that repeat what is on the AP wire) as a substitute for action – action the Administration had already (and rightly) indicated to the Russians it would not take – is just the kind of "old politics" that has lost its effectiveness, if it ever had any.

As for the big issue, I do not doubt your personal commitment to peace in Vietnam, or President Johnson's for that matter. Our most immediate disagreement comes down to whether to stop the bombing. You and the Presi-

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dent have said you would favor such a halt only if there were assurances that our troops would not suffer thereby. Again, I must accuse you of either deception or fuzzy thinking. For it hardly lies with leaders who send men into search and destroy missions and near-suicidal bombing raids over heavily defended targets day after day to say they will never take chances with "our boys' " lives. The decision on halting the bombing, like that of ordering men into battle, is not one of inflexible principle. It is a decision calling for a weighing of costs versus potential results. A leader must be willing to risk lives if his objective is sufficiently important and his chances of obtaining it are reasonably good. I would ask only that you approach the bombing question in that spirit.

On the domestic scene as well, a little candor would go a long way. Specifically, please no more panels, commissions, study groups, blue ribbon and otherwise, convened to mollify the public and to give the officeholder or candidate a choice to dodge or straddle the issues. Seen from my point of view, your suggestion that the Ford Foundation appoint a panel of experts to study the Chicago disorders is ludicrous. There is already source ma-

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terial of all sorts available. I ask you to study the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders;* to read the *Algiers Motel Incident,* Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice;* to talk to Mayor Lindsay about his problems with the men in blue; to consult your own experience; and then to tell the country what can be done about police brutality. A suggestion that you study this problem may seem impertinent, but the call for more commissions strikes this writer as either a cruel political joke or a tacit admission of a failure to do his homework by the man many considered in the past the best-informed American politician.

Finally, I personally appeal to you not to adopt a rigid law and order stance. You are not going to get George Wallace's votes. More importantly, one would expect to hear from you something about justice and civil rights. Your justification of the Chicago police's actions, on the ground that ". . . the profanity, the filth that was uttered night after night . . . was an insult to every woman, every mother, every daughter, indeed every decent human being" is pure demagoguery. Such a rationalization could have been, and was, made by every Southern governor and police chief during the great demonstrations in the South. Just as the color of one's skin does not dilute one's constitutional rights to petition and to assemble, neither, one would hope, does long hair, dirty fingernails, or vile language. Furthermore, your tough statements about anarchy may be on the mark when directed to Tom Hayden, but they are unfair when addressed to the vast numbers of people who seek to influence the political process by demonstrating and marching in the streets. Taking to the streets is not the antithesis of peaceful political activity, it is part and parcel of it. It might be helpful to remember that then Chief Parker's police did not wade into the Stevenson crowds that noisily demonstrated outside and inside the Los Angeles Sports Arena at the 1960 convention. Should the clothing, grooming or vocabulary of demonstrators affect their civil rights? One would have hoped Hubert Humphrey did not think so.

William L. Lee
New York, N. Y.

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Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

The Lesser Evil

Sirs:

As registered Democrats we are angered and ashamed that Humphrey and Muskie are the party's nominees. If there is a liberal fourth party candidate on the Massachusetts ballot, we will support and vote for that candidate; if not, we will cast write-in votes for Senator Eugene McCarthy.

However, in recognition of the significant differences between Humphrey-Muskie and Nixon - Agnew, we acknowledge that many other similarly angered Democrats (and liberal Republicans) will nevertheless support and vote for the Humphrey-Muskie ticket simply to prevent the great evil, the Nixon election, from occurring.

In view of that likelihood, it is necessary to avoid any misconstruing of the Humphrey total as approval of the Democratic Platform, the Democratic Convention proceedings, or the Democratic candidates themselves. To that end may we suggest that petitions be circulated and publicized to apprise this nation of the number of people who will be voting for the Humphrey-Muskie ticket in protest only. A combining, then, of the protest vote that will reluctantly go for Humphrey with the protest vote that will support liberal fourth party candidates or write-ins will more accurately indicate the strength of our nation's dissent than the results of the November election.

Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Berkman
Amherst, Mass.

French Psychodrama

Sirs:

What a genuinely magnificent piece by Stanley Hoffmann in your August 31, issue! Even within the fine work of your magazine, an article of such perception (and such surprising length) is warmly welcomed.

Clifford Fredic Ransom II
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John K. Fairbank
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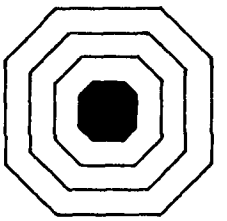

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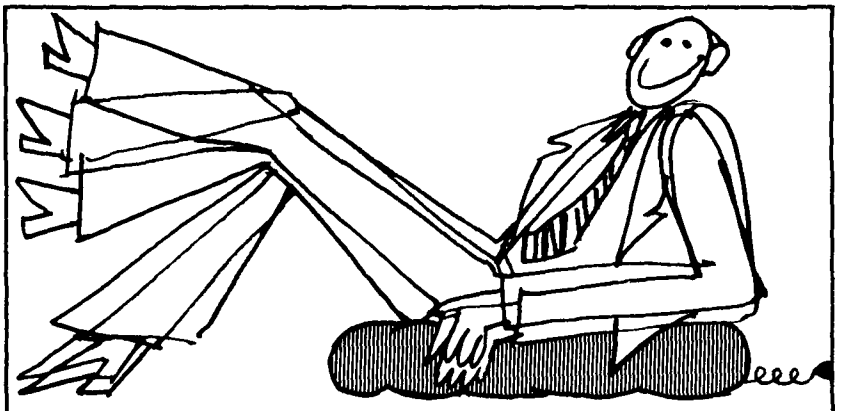

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Kauffmann, *from page 29*

in bondage to Europe, that even Shakespeare represented "the mighty aesthetic sceptre of the past," that an American drama "*must* rise." Now Grimsted makes a further illuminating point:

> ". . . the riot marked an end to the conglomerate appeal of the drama. . . . One theater was no longer large enough to appeal to all classes. . . . The country had grown, and grown apart. The theater after midcentury followed this development. It expanded and divided – into legitimate drama, foreign-language drama, farce, vaudeville, circus, burlesque, minstrelsy, opera, symphony – each with its separate theater and separate audience. One roof, housing a vast miscellany of entertainment each evening, could no longer cover a people growing intellectually and financially more disparate."

Given its own clear track, melodrama roared ahead; and Grimsted explains why that genre became predominant, why we did not get the great national drama that Whitman and others wanted.

Part of the reason was that serious writing was still associated with historical subjects. "But nineteenth-century audiences understandably craved a drama reflective of their own situations and standards." Part of it was the serious playwright's addiction to blank verse. Not that the language of melodrama was realistic, but at least its prose was an elevation of the familiar. ("Melodrama," says Eric Bentley, "is the Naturalism of the dream life.") Also, the popular plays made use of specific localities – numerous theaters around the country had their own playwrights – and they had a strong sense of social apposition in their heroes' vocations. Noblemen were out, the honest farmer was in. Very soon he was joined by the urban workingman, or "mechanic," as he was then called. (There is still a pipe tobacco sold in rural America called Mechanic's Delight.)

In his last two chapters Grimsted examines the structure and "vision" of melodrama, and here one can have only sympathy for him. There is absolutely no literary or dramatic interest in these plays today, they are only cultural-historical phenomena. Nineteenth-century melodrama is practically indistinguishable from its parodies – on paper, at least. Actors of the time must have developed some special skills in it because they were playing "straight." (You can see some of it in such early films as Griffith's *Way Down East*, and you can at least sniff the genre in some Donizetti and Verdi operas.) Unlike some current cultural commentators, Grimsted does not try to exaggerate the worth of popular material simply because it was popular. He explains why melodrama came about and what it represented. He assumes, quite rightly, that it is important to us because it was human, American, and precedent of many elements in our own culture. But he says he has read 250 of these plays. I've read perhaps 25 in my life, and I bleed for him.

The brute fact is that, in contrast to every significant European theater of the period, the 19th-century American theater left *not one play* of vital consequence to us, of more than museum interest. Yet it was unquestionably a theater that was vital to its audience. The paradox in that condition is both a strength of the theater and one of its miseries.

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Jack Richardson *is a novelist, playwright and critic.* James Finn *is editor of* Worldview, *a journal of religion and international affairs. He is the author of* Protest: Pacifiism and Politics, *and at present is editing* A Conflict of Loyalties: The Case for Selective Conscientious Objection.

Coming
Review by Louis Heren
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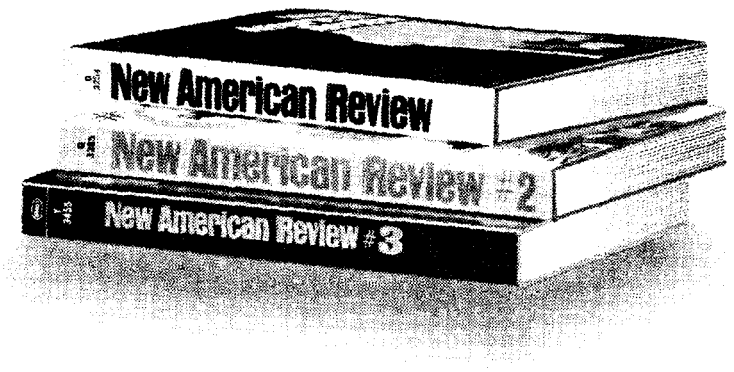

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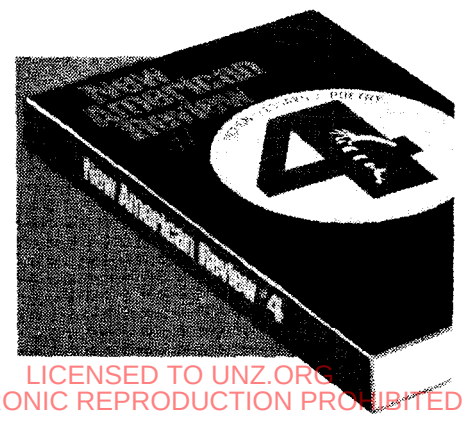

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